

# The Art Bulletin

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# The Art Bulletin

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PLATE LVI

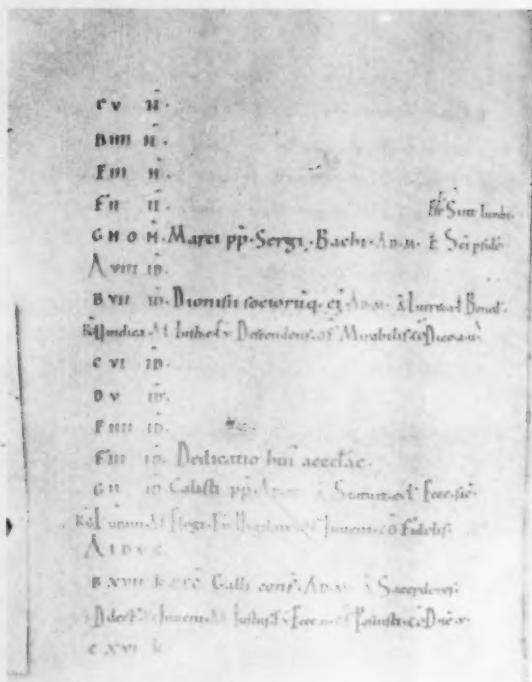


FIG. 1—KÄRNTEN, ST. PAUL IM LAVANTAL: MS. XXV. 2. 25, MISSAL, FOL. 91 V. SCHOOL OF EINSIEDELN. LATE XI CENTURY



FIG. 3—KÄRNTEN, ST. PAUL IM LAVANTAL: MS. XXV. 2. 25, MISSAL, FOL. 170 V. SCHOOL OF EINSIEDELN. LATE XI CENTURY

168

S Laurenti *o.* Om̄i sei mon̄ orat.  
 S Sebastian *o.* S Felicitas *o.*  
 S Mauritius *o.* S Perpetua *o.*  
 S Sigismunde *cu.* S Agna *o.*  
 S Justus *o.* S Agatha *o.*  
 S Margareta *o.* S Regula *o.*  
 Om̄i marḡ orat. S Walpurga *o.*  
 S Silvester *o.* Om̄i sei virḡ orat.  
 S Gregori *o.* Om̄i sei orate. p.m.  
 S Martine *o.* P rospic̄tus esto u.  
 S Odalric *o.* vera nos dñe.  
 Om̄i sei conf̄ orat. Abom̄i malo libe.  
 S Paulie *o.* ra nos dñe.  
 S Anton *o.* Anna tua lib. n. d.  
 S Benedictus *o.* Per crucē uā lib. n. d.  
 S Galle *o.* Per resurrectionē

FIG. 2—KÄRNTEN, ST. PAUL IM LAVANTAL: MS. XXV. 2. 25, MISSAL, FOL. 168. SCHOOL OF EINSIEDELN. LATE XI CENTURY



FIG. 4—KÄRNTEN, ST. PAUL IM LAVANTAL: MS. XXV. 2. 25, MISSAL, FOL. 228. SCHOOL OF EINSIEDELN. LATE XI CENTURY

## The Art of the Scriptorium of Einsiedeln<sup>1</sup>

BY ERNEST T. DEWALD



R. ROBERT EISLER lists in his catalogue of Austrian manuscripts<sup>2</sup> two at Kärnten which have particular interest for the student of Ottonian illumination: the famous sacramentary, XXIX.2.2, and a missal, XXV.2.25. These manuscripts, related to the Reichenau tradition, have been variously attributed. Haseloff<sup>3</sup> and Swarzenski<sup>4</sup> believed the sacramentary to belong to Reichenau. Eisler attributed both to St. Blasien, and Merton<sup>5</sup>, querying that attribution, made them members of a group which he calls the Ruodpert group from the name of the monk-donor in the Cividale Psalter. Eisler's attribution to St. Blasien rested primarily on the fact that these two manuscripts came to Kärnten from St. Blasien though he did not exclude Einsiedeln or Rheinau as possible places of origin.<sup>6</sup> He noted also in the calendar of the missal an entry for October 13 which reads "*Dedicatio huius aeccliae*" (Fig. 1). And as the church at St. Blasien was dedicated some time in October between 1096 and 1107 he concluded that the entry was a reference to that event.

Such a loose conclusion is evidently unsatisfactory, considering that definite information of the kind appearing in the calendar is by no means a common thing in early mediæval manuscripts. In attempting to locate, if possible, the actual abbey to which this dedication referred, I came upon a definite result, and was able to bring to light material in manuscripts which had been almost entirely neglected by co-workers in this field of research.

The dedication date, I found, belonged to the abbey church at Einsiedeln, one of Europe's most famous places of pilgrimage and an abbey of almost equal importance with Reichenau and St. Gall as a center of learning and culture in the late tenth century.

Important data in the early history of Einsiedeln<sup>7</sup> are the following. Early in the ninth century Meginrad, or Meinrad, a noble of the Hohenzollern family who had been educated at the abbey of Reichenau, chose to become a hermit. He finally erected his cell in a deeply wooded spot, now the site of Einsiedeln, where he lived a holy life. In 861 his cell was invaded by robbers, and he himself was murdered. His body was subsequently transported to Reichenau, where it was venerated. After about forty years his cell became the center of a colony of hermits under the leadership of Benno of Strass-

<sup>1</sup>This study is by way of an introduction to a complete publication of the manuscripts of the school of Einsiedeln and of other manuscripts in the library at Einsiedeln up to the thirteenth century which I am preparing. I should like to express my appreciation and indebtedness to Pater Edmond Brosy, O.S.B., librarian of the monastery at Einsiedeln, for the unusual courtesies which he extended to me during my stay at Einsiedeln and for facilitating my researches in every way.

<sup>2</sup>*Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der illuminirten Handschriften in Oesterreich*, III. Band; Kärnten, Leipzig, 1907, pp. 89ff. and 113ff. See also Gerbert, *Mon. veteris liturgiae Alemmanicae*, 1777, I, preface; and Kraus, *Kunstdenkmäler des Grossherzogthums Baden*, III, pp. 99ff.

<sup>3</sup>Sauerland and Haseloff, *Der Psalter Egberts von Trier*, Trier, 1901, pp. 114ff.

<sup>4</sup>Swarzenski, *Repertorium für Kunsthistorisch* XXVI, p. 395 et al.

<sup>5</sup>Merton, *Die Buchmalerei in St. Gallen*, 2nd. ed., 1924, p. 87.

<sup>6</sup>Preisendanz in Holder, *Die Reichenauer Handschriften*, etc., III, p. 248, claims that Kärnten XXV.2.25 did not come from St. Blasien but was acquired through purchase.

<sup>7</sup>References for history and documents about Einsiedeln are to be found in Hartmann, *Annales Heremii Deiparae Matris monasterii in Helvetia*, etc., Freiburg, 1612; *Annales Einsidenses*, M.G.S., III, 141; Morel, *Die Regesten der Benedictiner-abtei Einsiedeln*, in *Die Regesten der Archive in der schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft*, I, h.1; Ringholz, *Geschichte der fürstlichen Benedictinerstiftes u. L. F. von Einsiedeln*, 1904.

burg, who later became bishop of Metz. In 934 Eberhard, provost of the cathedral of Strassburg, started a monastery according to the rule of St. Benedict. The chapel of the new monastery was to be consecrated on September 14, 948. On the night previous to the consecration Eberhard beheld a vision, in which he saw the chapel dedicated by Christ, the Four Evangelists, St. Peter, St. Gregory, St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, St. Michael, St. Stephen, and St. Lawrence. The next day, when the services of consecration were in progress, mysterious voices stopped the ceremonies, saying that the chapel had already been divinely consecrated. An important relic presented to Einsiedeln about this time was an arm of St. Maurice,<sup>1</sup> sent by Ulrich, bishop of Augsburg, the friend of Abbot Eberhard. Other relics acquired were those of St. Afra of Augsburg, and of St. Felix and St. Regula of Zurich. The latter were sent by Count Hermann of Suabia.<sup>2</sup>

The second abbot, Thietland, was an old monk who ruled but six years. In 960 he had as his coadjutor, Gregory, who succeeded him as abbot.

Gregory (964-996) was the most important of the early abbots of Einsiedeln. Of noble English birth (legend calls him the brother of Otto the Great's first wife), he had strong influence at the court and secured many favors and grants from Otto I. During his regime Einsiedeln became the center of much cultural activity. The chants were sung according to the pattern of St. Gall. And Gregory initiated a great reform which made Einsiedeln a model among South German monasteries which took over the reformed rule. Attracted by Gregory's character and reforms, Wolfgang, a noble youth trained at the abbey of Reichenau, came to Einsiedeln. He had previously been prior at the cathedral of Trier, and, at the death of Bishop Henry of Trier, had been called to Cologne by the famous Archbishop Benno as a candidate for some bishopric. But Wolfgang preferred the life of a scholar, and went to Einsiedeln, where he became the head of the school, which attracted monks from many monasteries by its fame. In 971 Wolfgang went to Hungary as a missionary; in 972 he was appointed bishop of Regensburg.

Other significant events during the regime of Gregory were important grants following the supposed visit of Otto the Great with Adelhaid and their son Otto II in 972 to Einsiedeln,<sup>3</sup> and the foundation of the monastery of Petershausen in 983 according to the Einsiedeln rule.

Early in the eleventh century under Gregory's successor, Wirunt, 996-1026, the monastery of St. Blasien in the Black Forest adopted the reform of Einsiedeln, and called Bernhard, an Einsiedeln monk, to be provost of the abbey.

During the first year of the regime of Embrich, the fifth abbot of Einsiedeln, 1026-1051, two of his monks received important bishoprics: Warmann became bishop of Constance, and Hartmann bishop of Chur. The latter brought the heads of St. Justus and St. Sigismund to Einsiedeln.

In 1029 the monastery was destroyed by fire. The cornerstone for the new basilica was laid on May 10, 1031. On October 6, 1039, the body of Meginrad was translated from Reichenau to Einsiedeln, and a week later the new edifice was dedicated to the Virgin and St. Maurice with much pomp and ceremony. Meginrad was canonized that same year, and the office for his feast day, which falls on January 21, was composed by Berno, the famous abbot of Reichenau. At that time, then, the most important saints whose relics were venerated at Einsiedeln were Maurice, Sigismund, Justus, Meginrad, Afra, Felix, and Regula.

Finally, mention should be made of the confraternities which were concluded between Einsiedeln and St. Gall, and between Einsiedeln and St. Blasien in 1090. The latter was

<sup>1</sup>*Anzeiger für schweizerische Geschichte*, 1898, p. 13.      p. 177, n.3.  
<sup>2</sup>*Dümmler in Jahrbücher der deutschen Geschichte*, IX,

<sup>3</sup>*Geachichtsfreund*, X, p. 192.

PLATE LVII

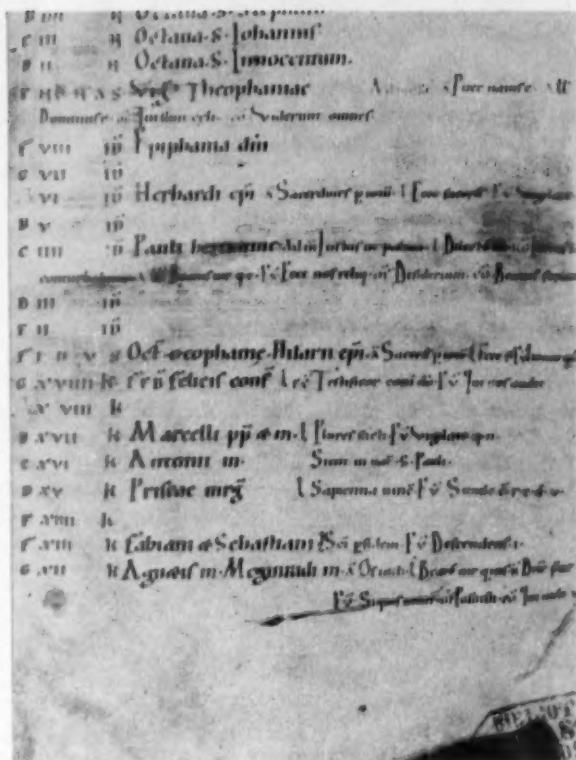


FIG. 5—EINSIEDELN, STIFTSBIBLIOTHEK: MS. 113,  
MISSAL, PAGE 7. SCHOOL OF EINSIEDELN. SECOND  
HALF XI CENTURY

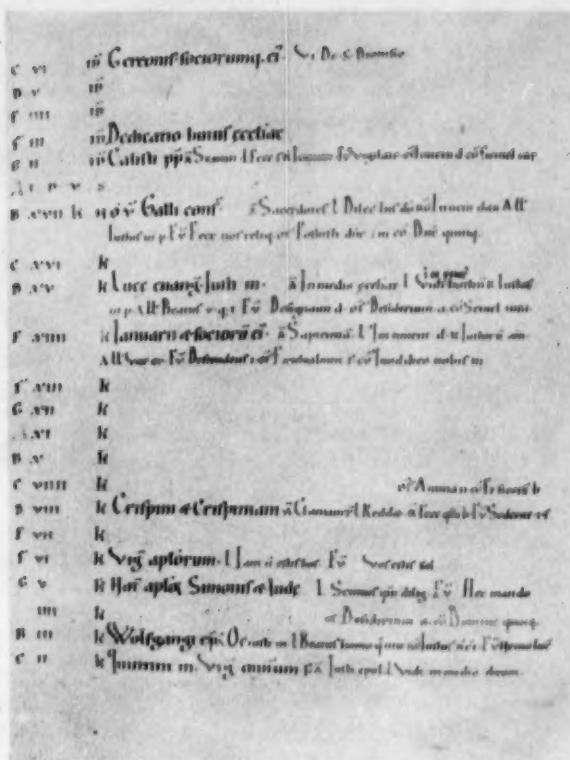


FIG. 6.—EINSIEDELN, STIFTSBIBLIOTHEK: MS. 113,  
MISSAL. SCHOOL OF EINSIEDELN. SECOND HALF  
XI CENTURY



FIG. 7.—EINSIEDELN, STIFTSBIBLIOTHEK: MS. 113,  
MISSAL, PAGE 68. SCHOOL OF EINSIEDELN. SEC-  
OND HALF XI CENTURY



FIG. 8.—EINSIEDELN, STIFTSBIBLIOTHEK: MS. 113,  
MISSAL, PAGE 228. SCHOOL OF EINSIEDELN. SEC-  
OND HALF XI CENTURY

PLATE LVIII



FIG. 9—EINSIEDELN, STIFTSBIBLIOTHEK: MS. 118,  
MISSAL, PAGE 224. SCHOOL OF EINSIEDELN. SEC-  
OND HALF XI CENTURY



FIG. 10—EINSIEDELN, STIFTSBIBLIOTHEK: MS. 118,  
MISSAL, PAGE 226. SCHOOL OF EINSIEDELN. SEC-  
OND HALF XI CENTURY



FIG. 11—EINSIEDELN, STIFTSBIBLIOTHEK: MS. 114,  
MISSAL, PAGE 203. SCHOOL OF EINSIEDELN. SEC-  
OND HALF XI CENTURY



FIG. 12—EINSIEDELN, STIFTSBIBLIOTHEK: MS. 114,  
MISSAL, PAGE 205. SCHOOL OF EINSIEDELN. SEC-  
OND HALF XI CENTURY

renewed in 1736, and is still kept up with St. Paul at Kärnten, where the monks from St. Blasien went when their monastery was suspended during the last century.

The "Dedicatio huius ecclesiae," consequently, as it appears on October 13 in the calendar of the Kärnten missal refers to the dedication of the abbey church at Einsiedeln in 1039. Other important evidence which Eisler did not publish appears in this manuscript to prove its provenance from the scriptorium of Einsiedeln. First of all, the calendar contains among others the following feast days: January 21, Meginrad; May 1, Sigismund; July 4, Ulrich, the bishop; September 11, Felix and Regula; September 23, Maurice; October 16, Gallus; October 29, Wolfgang; November 3, Pirmin (founder of Reichenau); November 16, Otmar (venerated at St. Gall).<sup>1</sup> On November 17 St. Findan is inserted in a later hand. This saint was venerated at St. Blasien and was inserted after the manuscript had come into the library of that monastery. Of still greater importance, a litany appears on folios 167v., 168r., and 168v., in which, after the invocations to Christ, the Virgin, the archangels, patriarchs, prophets, apostles, evangelists, Sts. Stephen, Clement, Alexander, Lawrence, and Sebastian, occur in order Maurice, Sigismund, Justus, and Meginrad, the foremost Einsiedeln patron saints (Fig. 2). In addition, large gold initials filled with green, red, and blue occur at the beginnings of the masses of the most important feast days of the church year (Fig. 3). Among these specially marked feast days, there is a gold initial for the feast day of St. Maurice, the chief patron of Einsiedeln next to the Virgin (Fig. 4). He is the only saint so distinguished excepting the Virgin and the apostles. Finally, on the last page of the missal, folio 328r., there is a mass "in honore Sci Sigismondi." The location of this manuscript in the scriptorium of the abbey of Einsiedeln is therefore placed beyond the pale of doubt!

A visit to the library of Einsiedeln revealed further evidence of interest. In that library, one of the richest in Europe for early mediaeval manuscripts, there are several other manuscripts which by their style and calendars form a contemporary group with the manuscript now at Kärnten. And these manuscripts have never left the monastery in which they were made.

The most important of these is no. 113,<sup>2</sup> a missal (Figs. 5 to 10). Its calendar is identical with that of the Kärnten manuscript except that it is even fuller and has some variant readings, such as, "Purificatio" instead of "Susceptio domini in templo," and "Potentiana" instead of "Pudentiana." The calendar contains Sts. Meginrad (Fig. 5), Blasius, Uodalric, Maurice, Gall, Pirmin, Wolfgang, Otmar, and on October 13 has "Dedicatio huius ecclesiae" (Fig. 6). In the *orationes* and *praeftationes* Blasius, Uodalricus, Maurice, Gall, and others appear again. Several pages in this manuscript have received special illumination, particularly the "Vere Dignum" (Fig. 9) and the "Te Igitur" (Fig. 10) pages.

Another missal, though somewhat less ornate in not using gold for the initials, is no. 114<sup>3</sup> (Fig. 13). Its style is identical with 113, and it has a calendar in which Sts. Meginrad, Blasius, Uodalric, Maurice, Gall, Otmar, and Pirmin are again mentioned. In the mass readings special initial decoration is accorded the feast days of Sts. Meginrad and Maurice. It also has special illumination for the "Vere Dignum" (Fig. 11) and the "Te Igitur" (Fig. 12) pages.

<sup>1</sup>There are many saints in this calendar from places in Bavaria, along the Rhine, and elsewhere in Alsace. Adelphus the confessor, August 29, and Florentius, Bishop of Strassburg, November 7, are particularly interesting in view of the fact that Benno and Eberhard, the first abbot of Einsiedeln, came from Strassburg.

<sup>2</sup>P. Gabriel Meier, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum qui in bibliotheca monasterii Einsidensis, Leipzig, 1899, p. 93; Rahn, Geschichte der bildenden Künste in der Schweiz, p. 299, n.*

<sup>3</sup>Meier, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

No. 85<sup>1</sup> is much less ornate than the other manuscripts mentioned so far, but it contains enough to add its testimony to the existence of the scriptorium at Einsiedeln. Its initials are of the same type as those in the other three manuscripts (Fig. 14). Its calendar is full of local Einsiedeln information as to chapels and consecrations. Some items are added in Gothic hands. But the names of Meginrad and Maurice belong to the earlier hand, and are entered in the calendar in small capitals filled with red, thus giving them particular significance (Fig. 15). The "relatio corporis sancti Meginradi" which took place in 1039 is entered in a Gothic hand. On folio 460 there is a litany in which Sts. Maurice, Sigismund, Ursus, Justus, and Meginrad appear together, the last again spelt in capitals.

Finally, manuscript 117<sup>2</sup> (Fig. 16) contributes a martyrology in various hands ranging from the eleventh to the fourteenth century. It has the usual Einsiedeln entries. St. Meginrad is written larger and with tinted initials. Of interest are the entries of the dedications of the chapels of Salvator and of St. Gangolph, and of the altar of Meginrad. Among the later entries are those of St. Thomas of Canterbury and of Edward the Confessor. It is most interesting to note these entries at Einsiedeln even two hundred years after the time of Gregory, Einsiedeln's famous English abbot.

With these five manuscripts—one at Kärnten, four at Einsiedeln—so definitely documented for Einsiedeln, a nucleus is formed from which to study the style current at that abbey in the second half of the eleventh century. The question of date is not a very difficult one. The initial style and the palaeography are still of the eleventh century, and from the calendars the following dates can be extracted. On June 1 appears Symeon the Confessor of Trier, who died in 1035. The dedication of the church entered for October 13 took place in 1039. Wolfgang, Bishop of Regensburg, October 30, was canonized in 1052. Since the bishop was locally venerated at Einsiedeln, the entries could be even earlier. But Pope Leo, who appears in the Kärnten manuscript and in Einsiedeln 113 for June 28, died in 1054. The manuscripts could therefore not date before the middle of the eleventh century.

Our material for studying the style is largely the illuminated initials. The only figures in any of these manuscripts are those of the Crucified on the "Te Igitur" pages of nos. 113 and 114 (Figs. 10 and 12).

The initials are all of a kind. Their closest parallels are to be found in the Reichenau manuscripts such as Cimelia 57 and 58 at Munich<sup>3</sup> (Fig. 17). But the Einsiedeln initials have characteristics quite their own, particularly the tight treatment of the knobs as they are joined to the stem. This recurs constantly without variation and is a good criterion in recognizing other Einsiedeln manuscripts. There is still a good deal of Reichenau exuberance in the stalks which grow from the shafts of the initials and fill up the interior spaces, poking their small spearhead finials through split shafts or through loops formed in the shafts. The color technique is related to Reichenau too: gold for the shafts, stalks, and knobs, and green and blue as background colors for stalks and knobs inside the body of the initials. In some cases where knobs and spearhead terminations show outside the initials, the green or blue color appears there too as a background (Figs. 3 and 14). This too is frequent in Reichenau initials, particularly in Munich Cimelia 57. In Einsiedeln 85, 114, and 117 the shafts of the initials are not colored but merely left in the plain vellum.

Several pages in nos. 113 and 114 received special illumination: in 113 a bordered purple page with an initial P (Fig. 8), a "Vere Dignum" page (Fig. 9), and a "Te Igitur"

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 77.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 98.

<sup>3</sup>Leidinger, *Miniaturen aus Handschriften der königlichen Hof- u. Staatsbibliothek zu München*, Heft I and V.

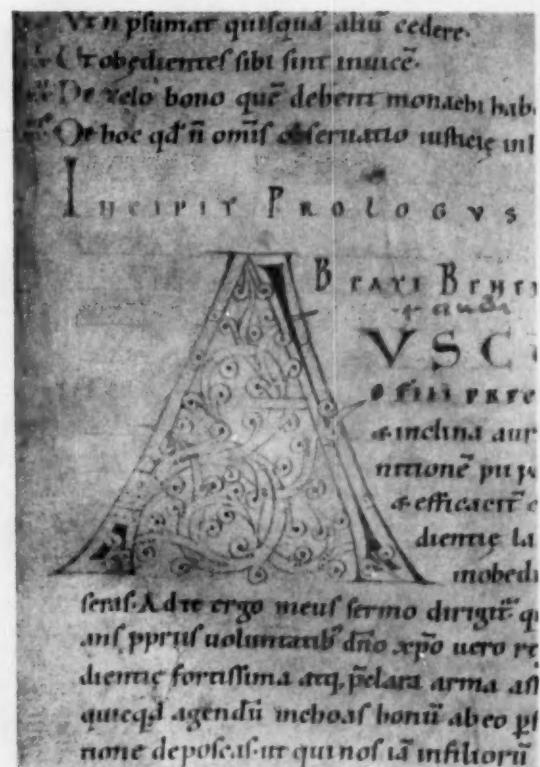
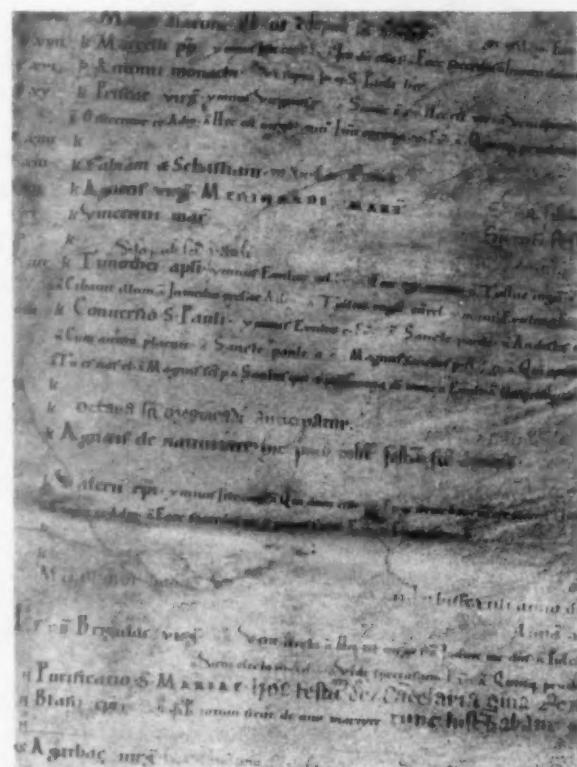


PLATE LX



FIG. 17—MUNICH, STAATSBIBLIOTHEK: CIMELIA 57. SCHOOL OF REICHENAU. EARLY XI CENTURY

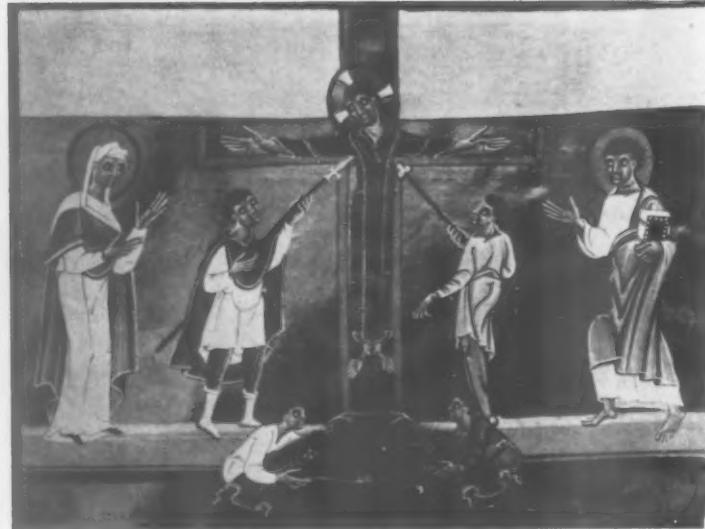


FIG. 18—MUNICH, STAATSBIBLIOTHEK: CIMELIA 57. SCHOOL OF REICHENAU. EARLY XI CENTURY



FIG. 19—EINSIEDELN, STIFTSBIBLIOTHEK: MS. 111, MISSAL, FOL. 1 v. SCHOOL OF EINSIEDELN. SECOND HALF XI CENTURY

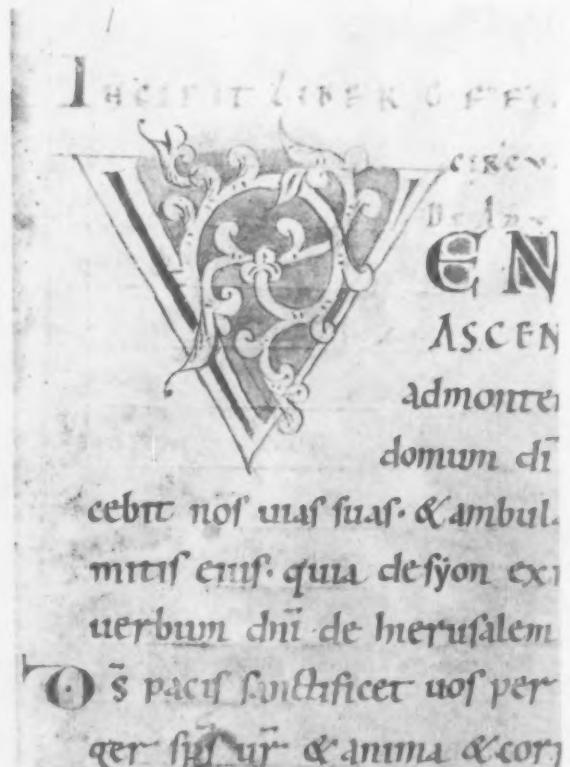


FIG. 20—EINSIEDELN, STIFTSBIBLIOTHEK: MS. 112, LIBER OFFICIALIS, PAGE 49. SCHOOL OF EINSIEDELN. SECOND HALF XI CENTURY

(Fig. 10); in 114 a "Vere Dignum" page (Fig. 11) and a "Te Igitur" (Fig. 12). The backgrounds are purple. The pages in 113 are more elaborately done and the purple backgrounds have a mottled appearance. The initials are gold, as are the small narrow borders which enclose the green leaf borders of the pages. In 114 these narrow borders are green and the initials are left in the plain vellum. The "Te Igitur" pages of both these manuscripts have suffered from rough handling. In 113 the color of the leaf borders has either been picked off or has flaked off so that only traces of the blue color and of the design remain. The figure of Christ, particularly the face, has suffered similarly. In 114 the face of Christ is well preserved but the center of the page is soiled from too much handling.

In the figure style, as in the initials, a strong Reichenau influence is perceptible, though the head of Christ is of a much rounder and broader type than the usual Reichenau one (Fig. 18). The beardless type of Christ is also characteristic of later Reichenau. The general iconography of the Crucified is the same in both miniatures (of 113 and 114), as, for instance, the position of the head, the hang of the hands, the arrangement of the loin cloth, and the position of the legs. In Reichenau manuscripts the Crucified Christ is generally clothed in the colobium.

Using the style of these manuscripts as a basis for comparison, a number of other manuscripts in the library at Einsiedeln can be associated with the same *milieu*. These are nos. 111 (Fig. 19), 112 (Figs. 20 and 21), 140 (Fig. 22), 142 (Figs. 23 and 24), 147 (Fig. 25), 151 (Figs. 26 and 27), 153, 154, 155, 256 (Fig. 28), and 369. Of these no. 111 has a "Vere Dignum" page (Fig. 19), which, though of later date, closely resembles the same pages in 113 and 114 (Figs. 9 and 11). It is interesting as showing the persistence of the Einsiedeln initial style. It even imitates, though in summary fashion, the mottled background of the earlier manuscripts by rows of dots. This page was inserted at the beginning of the manuscript and has no connection with the rest of the twelfth-century initials in the manuscript. These have already been published, especially the one containing the martyrdom of St. Meinrad.<sup>1</sup>

Nos. 151, 153, 154, and 155, containing the works of Gregory, are written by the same hand. 151 is the most important of these. Its initials are filled with green and blue (Fig. 26), and on folio 1v. there is a drawing of Gregory presenting a volume to the enthroned Virgin and Child (Fig. 27). The miniature is done in brown ink. The figure style and the setting are reminiscent of Reichenau. But the details of the style, such as the broad round faces, the high cheek bones, the eyes indicated with small pupils in large eyeballs, and the accentuation of the shoulder muscles and kneecaps, are those seen in the Christ figure of the "Te Igitur" page in no. 113 (Fig. 10).

No. 142 has another type of initial (Fig. 23), more foliate in character, alongside of the usual type (Fig. 24). And this is found again in no. 369 and in no. 112 (Fig. 20), which latter has also various miniatures of the eleventh and twelfth centuries and local saint entries and a litany which assure it for Einsiedeln. One miniature, probably of the late eleventh century, represents an abbot presenting a book to the Virgin and Child (Fig. 21).

These sixteen manuscripts, all but one still at Einsiedeln, testify to an active scriptorium at Einsiedeln in the second half of the eleventh century. The work is of such a homogeneous and definite character as to presuppose a tradition of long standing. Are there any indications of an earlier school? Are there any earlier manuscripts which would

<sup>1</sup> Morel, *Die St. Meinradslegende*, Einsiedeln, 1869, pl. V; Ringholz, *op. cit.*, frontispiece; Rahn, *op. cit.*, p. 305.

point to such a school? The problem is not so difficult as it is for St. Gall or Reichenau. It concerns a matter of a little over a hundred years. For Einsiedeln was founded in 934, when her great sister monasteries were already flourishing. The reasons for presupposing an earlier school in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries are apparent not only from the later manuscripts which suggest a tradition but also in the accounts of the importance of the abbey culturally at the time of Abbot Gregory, at the time when Wolfgang was at the head of the school. The problem is simplified by the actual survival of several manuscripts at Einsiedeln which must date stylistically from the tenth century. And the very fact that they are still at Einsiedeln and are of a peculiar style and iconography suggest their production at that abbey.

As a particularly homogeneous group among these earlier manuscripts are nos. 156, 167, and 135. In fact, the figures in 156 and 167 are by the same hand.

No. 156,<sup>1</sup> a commentary of Gregory on Ezekiel, has two illuminated pages of interest. On folio 1 r. (Fig. 29): Christ, bearded, is seated on a throne under an arch. He is in the attitude of blessing, while Ezekiel lies prostrate on the ground before him. The enclosing arch is supported by heavy columns. The capitals of these columns and the face of the arch are decorated with a leaf ornament with peculiar high lights along the edges of the leaves. Christ's head is surrounded by a huge cruciform nimbus, and on either side of it are a star and the letters IHS and XPC respectively. Particular features of the face of Christ are the heavy shadows above the eyes, the pursed lips, and the drop-like beard. On the verso of the folio Gregory and his scribe Jacondus are enthroned under separate arches (Fig. 31). The same prominent leaf ornament appears on the capitals and in the spandrels of the arches. The faces of the arches have a flat ribbon ornament.

No. 167<sup>2</sup> is an Isidorus manuscript. It contains a good deal of initial ornament as well as geometric drawings illustrating the text. In the front of the manuscript an illuminated page shows Isidore and Bishop Braulio (Fig. 33) enthroned in positions relatively similar to those of Gregory and Jacondus in 156 (Fig. 31). They are done by the same hand. There are minor variations in the decorative details. The leafage on the capitals of the columns is as though reversed and seen from the front. The leaf motive of the arches is the same as in 156.

In 135, St. Jerome against the heretics Jovianus and Helvidius, the similarities with the other two manuscripts are at once apparent in the arrangement of the figures under the arches and in the types (Fig. 34). But there is evidently a less capable hand at work here. In the two miniatures found in the manuscript (pages 1 and 248) St. Jerome with the attributes of an abbot is enthroned under an arch while to the right of the picture the heretic is seated with a devil issuing from his mouth.

The figure style of these three manuscripts is quite definite and peculiar. Its essential characteristics are the high eyebrows, the deep shadows under the eyebrows, the large round pupils, the nose drawn with a high light along the ridge and with slightly spreading nostrils coming to a point above the lips, the pursed lips tightly puckered in the center and with thin lines running to the corners, the helplessly drawn hands, the small dangling feet, and the curious hunched-up postures. Characteristic for the drapery style are the edging of hems with high lights, the wavy white line edging certain parts of a mantle or sleeve (for example, the lower right sleeve of Christ in Fig. 29, the sleeves of Gregory and

<sup>1</sup> Meier, *op. cit.*, p. 127; Rahn, *op. cit.*, p. 145, mentions this manuscript with the wrong number, 155.

<sup>2</sup> The folio number which appears on this and other pages here illustrated is an old numbering, which is not

followed in the present catalogue numbers.

<sup>3</sup> Meier, *op. cit.*, p. 133; Rahn, *op. cit.*, p. 304  
Rohault de Fleury, *La Messe*, pl. 632.



FIG. 21—EINSIEDELN, STIFTSBIBLIOTHEK: MS. 112,  
LIBER OFFICIALIS, PAGE 48. SCHOOL OF EIN-  
SIEDELN. SECOND HALF XI CENTURY



FIG. 23—EINSIEDELN, STIFTSBIBLIOTHEK: MS. 142,  
AUGUSTINUS, DE VERBIS DOMINI, PAGE 1. SCHOOL  
OF EINSIEDELN. SECOND HALF XI CENTURY

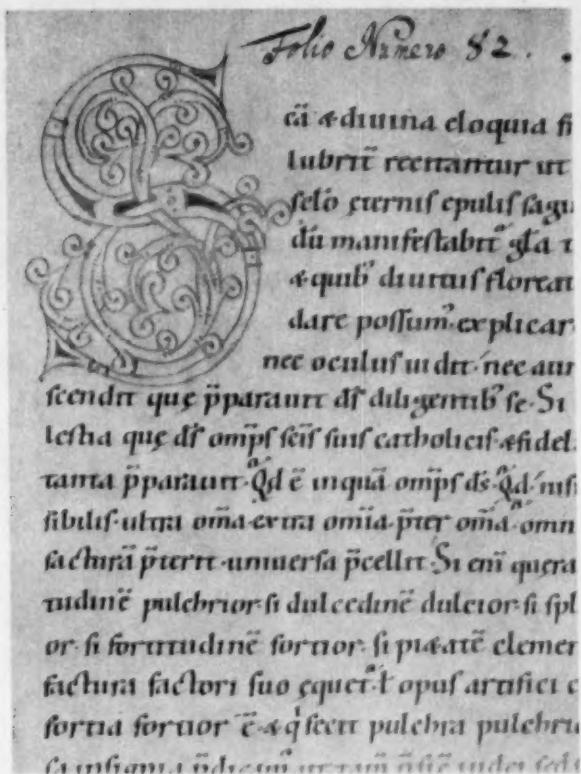


FIG. 22—EINSIEDELN, STIFTSBIBLIOTHEK: MS. 140,  
SERMONES S. AUGUSTINI, PAGE 2. SCHOOL OF  
EINSIEDELN. SECOND HALF XI CENTURY



FIG. 24—EINSIEDELN, STIFTSBIBLIOTHEK: MS. 142,  
AUGUSTINUS, DE VERBIS DOMINI, PAGE 2. SCHOOL  
OF EINSIEDELN. SECOND HALF XI CENTURY

PLATE LXII

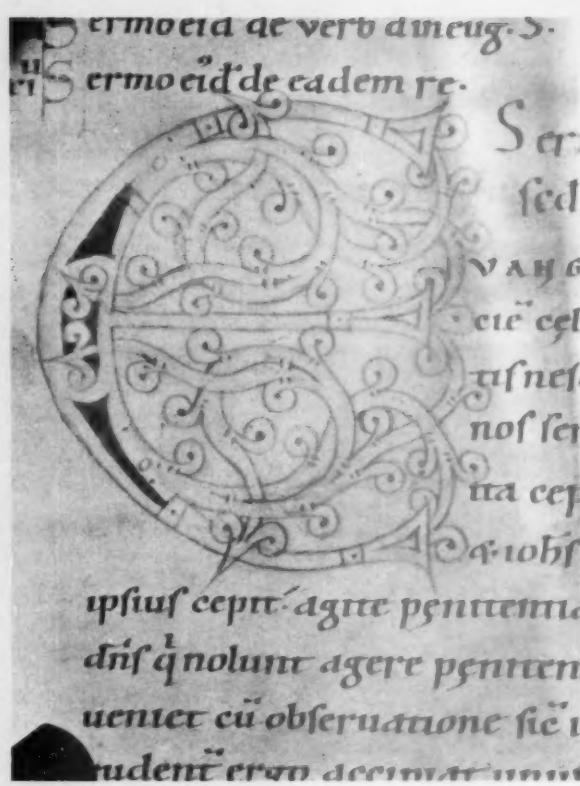


FIG. 25—EINSIEDELN, STIFTSBIBLIOTHEK: MS. 147,  
SERMONES S. AUGUSTINI, PAGE 2. SCHOOL OF  
EINSIEDELN. SECOND HALF XI CENTURY

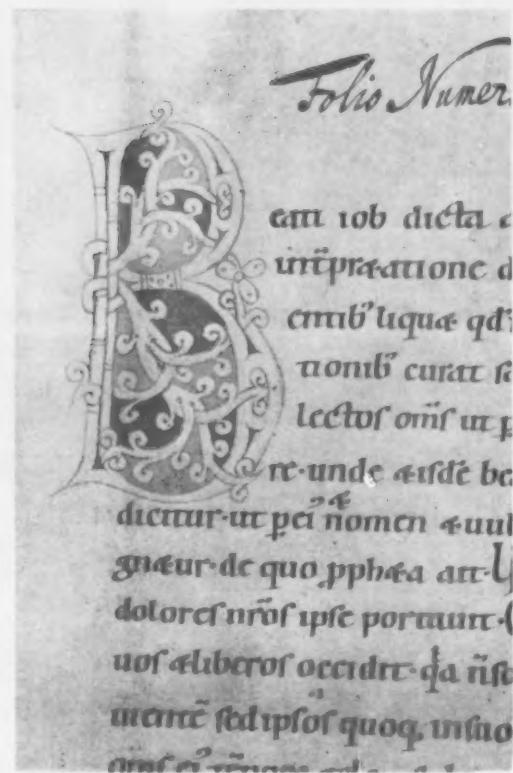


FIG. 26—EINSIEDELN, STIFTSBIBLIOTHEK: MS. 151,  
GREGORII MORALIA IN JOB (II), FOL. 2. SCHOOL  
OF EINSIEDELN. SECOND HALF XI CENTURY



FIG. 27—EINSIEDELN, STIFTSBIBLIOTHEK: MS. 151,  
GREGORII MORALIA IN JOB (II), FOL. 1 V. SCHOOL  
OF EINSIEDELN. SECOND HALF XI CENTURY



FIG. 28—EINSIEDELN, STIFTSBIBLIOTHEK: MS. 256,  
VITAE SANCTORUM, PAGE 2. SCHOOL OF EINSIE  
DELN. SECOND HALF XI CENTURY



FIG. 29—EINSIEDELN, STIFTSBIBLIOTHEK: MS. 156,  
GREGORIUS, IN EZECHIELEM, FOL. 1. SCHOOL OF  
EINSIEDELN. SECOND HALF X CENTURY

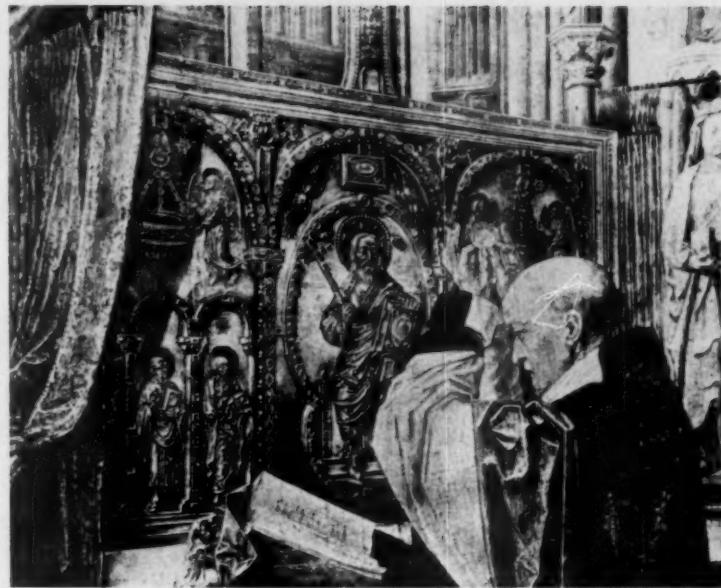


FIG. 30—LONDON, COLL. OF MRS. STUART MACKENZIE:  
FRANCO-FLEMISH PAINTING REPRODUCING THE IX-CENTURY  
GOLD ALTAR FRONTAL OF ST.-DENIS



FIG. 31—EINSIEDELN, STIFTSBIBLIOTHEK: MS. 156,  
GREGORIUS, IN EZECHIELEM, FOL. 1. SCHOOL OF  
EINSIEDELN. SECOND HALF X CENTURY



FIG. 32—DARMSTADT, LANDESBIBLIOTHEK: GERO  
CODEX. SCHOOL OF REICHENAU. SECOND HALF  
X CENTURY

PLATE LXIV



FIG. 33—EINSIEDELN, STIFTSBIBLIOTHEK: MS. 167, ISIDORI LIBRI ORIGINUM, PAGE 1. SCHOOL OF EINSIEDELN. SECOND HALF X CENTURY



FIG. 34—EINSIEDELN, STIFTSBIBLIOTHEK: MS. 135, JEROME, VS. JOVIANUM ET HELVIDIUM, FOL. 1. SCHOOL OF EINSIEDELN. SECOND HALF X CENTURY



FIG. 35—EINSIEDELN, STIFTSBIBLIOTHEK: MS. 176, BEDA, IN APOCALYPSIN. ACTUS APP. ETC., PAGE 6. GERMAN. SECOND HALF X CENTURY



FIG. 36—EINSIEDELN, STIFTSBIBLIOTHEK: MS. 176, BEDA, IN APOCALYPSIN. ACTUS APP. ETC., PAGE 102. GERMAN. SECOND HALF X CENTURY

Jacondus in Fig. 31, the sleeves and hems of Isidore in Fig. 33, and the sleeves and hems of Jerome in Fig. 34), and the hatching at right angles across the main lines of the drapery as if a misunderstanding of the Byzantine method (for example, the knee, lap, and shoulder folds on the figure of Christ in Fig. 29, also on the figures of Isidore in Fig. 33 and Jerome in Fig. 34). The thrones on which the figures are seated are all similar and characteristic for the group. They seem to be imitations of gold and jewelled thrones. Small dots give the appearance of gold wire work. In the panel spaces on the thrones and footstools are small oval objects rayed by double parallel lines at the four points of the compass to imitate jewels. Further characteristic accessories are the heavy leaf ornament, with high lights on capitals, arches, and spandrels, and the torus moulding, with small circles below capitals and above bases.

The derivation of these elements of style points to various sources. Figures under arches, and the edging of hems with high lights so as to give them a stiff metallic effect are, of course, usual in the Ada School and its derivatives. More particularly, however, the figure of Christ in 156 (Fig. 29), with the peculiar clawlike toes, is startlingly similar to figures in goldwork of the St.-Denis school such as the gold cover of Arnulf in the Morgan Library, New York.<sup>1</sup> In the gold altar frontal of St.-Denis, known only from a painting in Mrs. Stuart McKenzie's collection, London (Fig. 30), the seated Christ is an excellent model for the Christ in 156; compare the two as to the posture, the drapery lines about the knees, waist, and shoulder, the bearded face, and the jewel-studded nimbus. The actual derivation of the facial types of these manuscripts, with the deeply shadowed eyebrows, etc., and of the hunched-up figures comes from manuscripts of the Eburnant or early Reichenau group, and particularly from the Gero Codex at Darmstadt (Fig. 32). This eclectic character of the South German style is a natural outcome of the period in which these three manuscripts were produced. The Ada tradition was particularly alive in this region during the ninth and tenth centuries, as appears from the many derivatives of the Lorsch Gospel type of evangelist. But beside it flourished another equally important influence, which has not been sufficiently taken account of heretofore, namely, the St.-Denis influence. This influence came into southern German art with the arrival of the gold treasures of Arnulf which were stored at St. Gall.<sup>2</sup> St. Gall ivories copied *motifs* from these gold works, and the frescoes at St. George at Oberzell<sup>3</sup> and those at Goldbach<sup>4</sup> show the same influence. And, as Reichenau developed the most important figure style at this time, the dependence of the Einsiedeln manuscripts on the Gero Codex style is a natural one. The comparison, however, shows the Einsiedeln manuscripts to be coarser and less finished and the colors darker. The derivative quality at this time is apparent. Yet such details as the wavy edges, the cross hatching, and the types of thrones show local characteristics of style.

Two other manuscripts at Einsiedeln must be associated with this group as forerunners of the style.

No. 176,<sup>5</sup> a commentary of Bede on the Apocalypse, has two partially illuminated pages. One, page 6 (Fig. 35), represents Christ enthroned between two adoring angels in the upper register, and an angel inspiring John in the lower. The other, page 102 (Fig. 36), has Christ treading on the lion and adder and blessing two figures, HETO and ADEL-

<sup>1</sup>*The Art Bulletin*, VII, 1924, pl. XXXVI.

<sup>2</sup>My attention was called to this fact by A. M. Friend, of Princeton University, who will discuss the subject in his forthcoming publication of the school of St.-Denis.

<sup>3</sup>Illustrated in Kraus, *Die Wandgemälde in der S. Georgskirche zu Oberzell auf der Reichenau*, Freiburg, 1884.

<sup>4</sup>Künstle, *Die Kunst des Klosters Reichenau*, Freiburg, 2nd. ed., 1924.

<sup>5</sup>Rahn, *op. cit.*, p. 298.

HEIT, on either side of Him.<sup>1</sup> The drawings are tinted with blue, yellow, and red washes. The style shows rather long, thin figures with flat, stringy drapery. The standing figures all have that curious northern misconception of the classic pose of the relaxed leg which gives a strange bent look. This same misconception is seen in the Genoels-Elderent ivory plaques<sup>2</sup> and in the Trier Apocalypse (Fig. 37).

No. 38 contains an exposition of the Epistles of Paul. The first page has a miniature of St. Paul on the Hill of Mars (Fig. 38). Tradition has linked this manuscript with the Abbot Thietland, who wrote a commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul. The style of the miniature holds a middle place between 176 and the group of 156, 167, 135. The staring eyes of the Christ in 176 (Fig. 36) appear among the listeners on Mars Hill. The ribbon border of Fig. 35 occurs again about the page in Fig. 38. But otherwise the style of 38 is much closer to that of the other manuscripts. The clawlike toes, the wavy edges, and the cross hatchings show that connection. It would seem that 176 was an imported manuscript, which had some influence on the style of indigenous manuscripts, such as no. 38.

The initial style of these manuscripts is equally interesting. It shows derivative qualities both from St. Gall and from Reichenau. The smooth hoselike interlaces or knots with occasional knobs, which appear in no. 176 (Fig. 39) and in 156 (Fig. 40), reflect St. Gall initials of the type found in the Folchard Psalter, from which the initial D of this article is taken.<sup>3</sup> Whereas the initials of no. 167 (Figs. 41 and 42) have affinities with Reichenau ones, for example, Karlsruhe XXXVII.<sup>4</sup> The mixture of these elements together with a certain exuberance of the vegetable parts of the initials characterize the Einsiedeln initials of this period. Four-leafed finials and spear-shaped leaves are common, and frequently the initial is set against a strip of purple background which is occasionally patterned.

As belonging to the style of these manuscripts and as showing the growth and development of the initial tradition with its exuberance, its complication of knots and interlaces, are to be listed the Einsiedeln manuscripts nos. 16 (Fig. 43), 159 (Fig. 44), 255 (Fig. 45), 256<sup>5</sup> (Fig. 46), 312 (Fig. 47), 141 (Fig. 48), 131 (Fig. 49), 137 (Fig. 50), 257 (Fig. 51), 143 (Fig. 52), 146 (Fig. 53), 351 (Fig. 54). These are all without any illustration of the figure style except 255, which has a page done by a very weak hand. Among these initials the influences of St. Gall appear again in 131 (Fig. 49), which is to be compared with an initial from the Folchard Psalter.<sup>6</sup> The filled, split shaft of 351 (Fig. 54), or that of 257 (Fig. 51), where the knots also appear, should be compared with other initials from the Folchard Psalter, or from the *Evangelium Longum*.<sup>7</sup> The St. Gall connection is a natural one considering the interchange between the monasteries and the actual presence of a very fine manuscript of the St. Gall school at Einsiedeln (no. 17). That the manuscript was already

<sup>1</sup>The Heto and Adelheit represented in this miniature are very probably Otto I and his queen Adelheid. It may seem strange to have the form Heto for Otto. I find no parallel for it. The nearest form appears in *M. G. Necrol.* 5, index, p. 689, where Uetto is given as an alternate for Otto. Otto I made a special grant in favor of Einsiedeln in 972 from St. Gall. A fifteenth-century poet (*Geschichtsfreund*, X, p. 192), says he was at Einsiedeln. It is my opinion that this manuscript was a gift of Otto's to the abbey at that time. It is not the usual thing for people other than emperors or kings to be represented blessed in this fashion by Christ himself (in spite of the absence of crowns in this case). Other instances occur in the Paris ivory of Romanus (Dalton, *Byzantine Art*

and Archaeology

p. 228) in the Munich Gospels of Henry II (Leidinger, *op. cit.*, Heft V, pl. 1.) and in the Upsala Echternach codex (Zeitschrift für Christliche Kunst, XIII, pl. V).

<sup>2</sup>Ad. Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen*, I, pl. 1.

<sup>3</sup>Landsberger, *Der Folchard Psalter*, Abb. 4.

<sup>4</sup>Merton, *op. cit.*, pl. LXXXVII.

<sup>5</sup>Rahn, *op. cit.*, p. 145, n., and p. 301, n.

This manuscript has an inserted folio at the beginning with an initial of the late XI-century style, see Fig. 28.

<sup>6</sup>Landsberger, *op. cit.*, Abb. 8<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., pl. II and Abb. 15<sup>b</sup>.



FIG. 37.—TRIER, STADTBIBLIOTHEK: APOCALYPSE.  
FRENCH (?). IX-X CENTURY



FIG. 38.—EINSIEDELN, STIFTSBIBLIOTHEK: MS. 88,  
EXPOSITION OF THE EPISTLES OF ST. PAUL, FRON-  
TISPIECE. SCHOOL OF EINSIEDELN. SECOND HALF  
X CENTURY

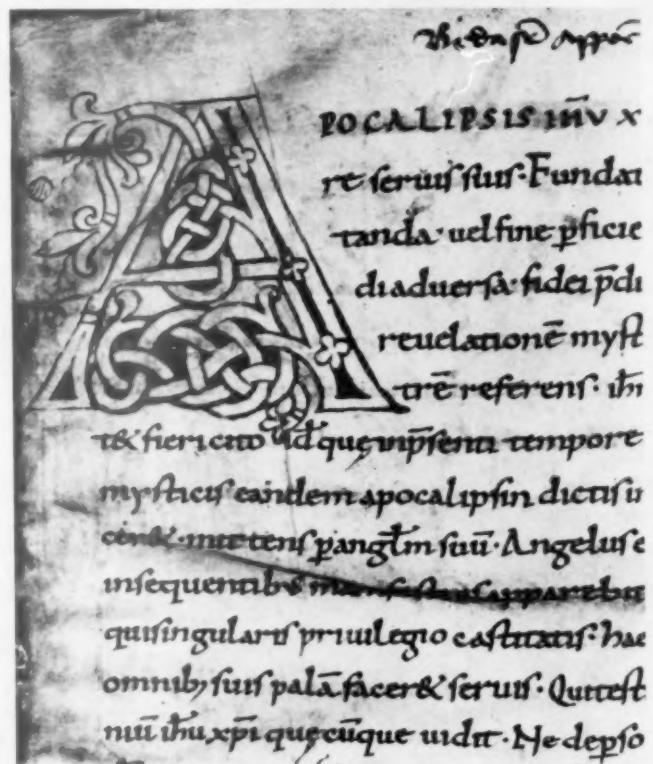


FIG. 39.—EINSIEDELN, STIFTSBIBLIOTHEK: MS. 176,  
BEDA, IN APOCALYPSIN. ACTUS APP. ETC., PAGE 7.  
GERMAN. SECOND HALF X CENTURY

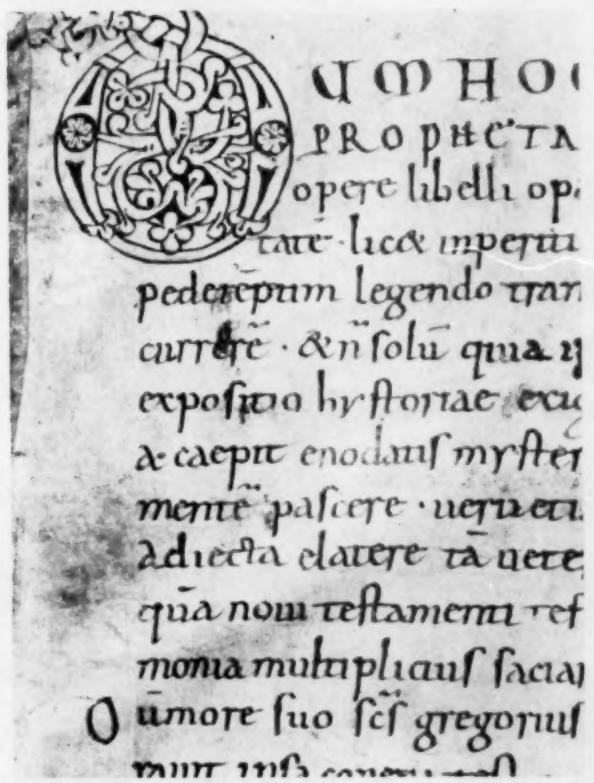


FIG. 40.—EINSIEDELN, STIFTSBIBLIOTHEK: MS. 156,  
GREGORIUS, IN EZECHIELM, FOL. 2. SCHOOL OF  
EINSIEDELN. SECOND HALF X CENTURY



FIG. 41—EINSIEDELN, STIFTSBIBLIOTHEK: MS. 167,  
ISIDORI LIBRI ORIGINUM, PAGE 87. SCHOOL OF  
EINSIEDELN. SECOND HALF X CENTURY



FIG. 42—EINSIEDELN, STIFTSBIBLIOTHEK: MS. 167,  
ISIDORI LIBRI ORIGINUM, PAGE 2. SCHOOL OF EIN-  
SIEDELN. SECOND HALF X CENTURY

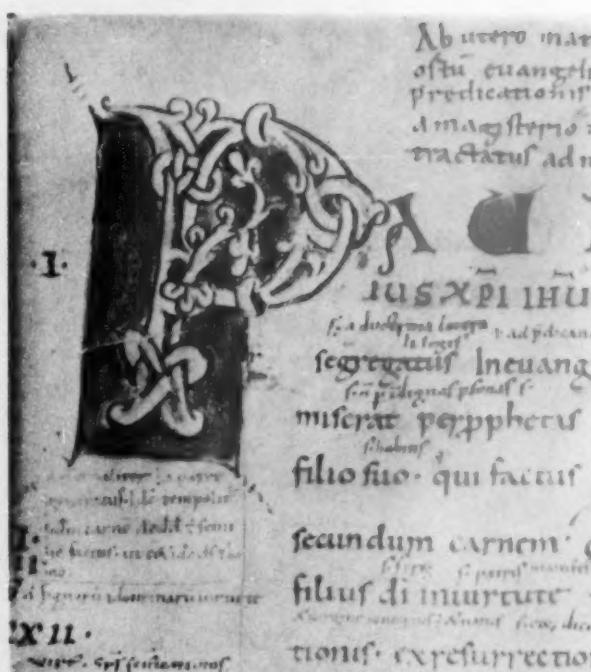


FIG. 43—EINSIEDELN, STIFTSBIBLIOTHEK: MS. 16,  
IN EPISTOLAS S. PAULI, FOL. 82. SCHOOL OF EIN-  
SIEDELN. SECOND HALF X CENTURY

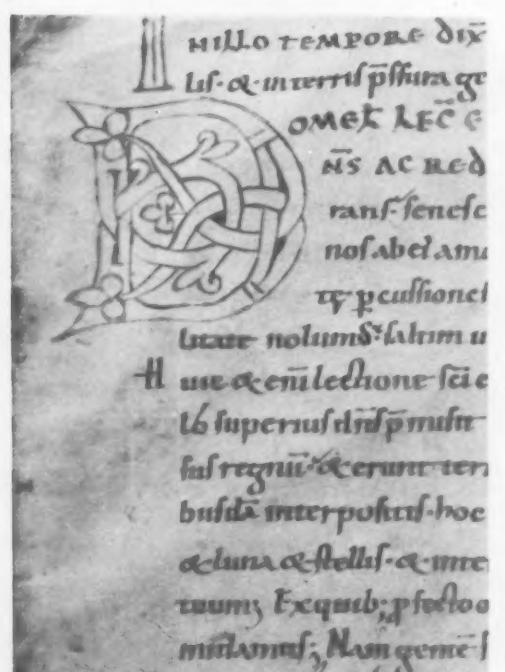


FIG. 44—EINSIEDELN, STIFTSBIBLIOTHEK: MS. 159,  
GREGORII 40 HOMILIAE, PAGE 5. SCHOOL OF EIN-  
SIEDELN. SECOND HALF X CENTURY

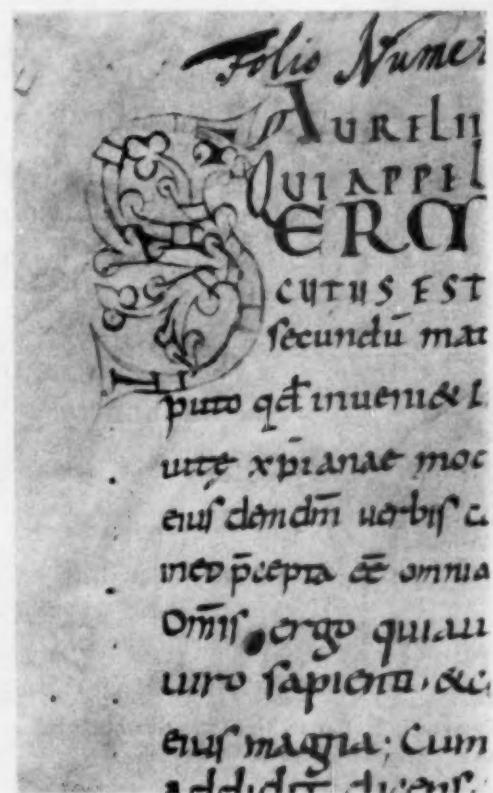
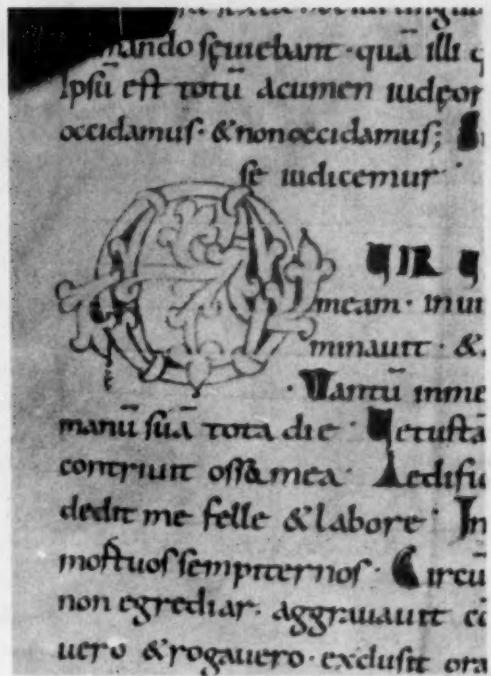




FIG. 49—EINSIEDELN, STIFTSBIBLIOTHEK: MS. 181, JEROME, DE VIRIS ILLUSTRIbus, PAGE 1. SCHOOL OF EINSIEDELN. SECOND HALF X CENTURY

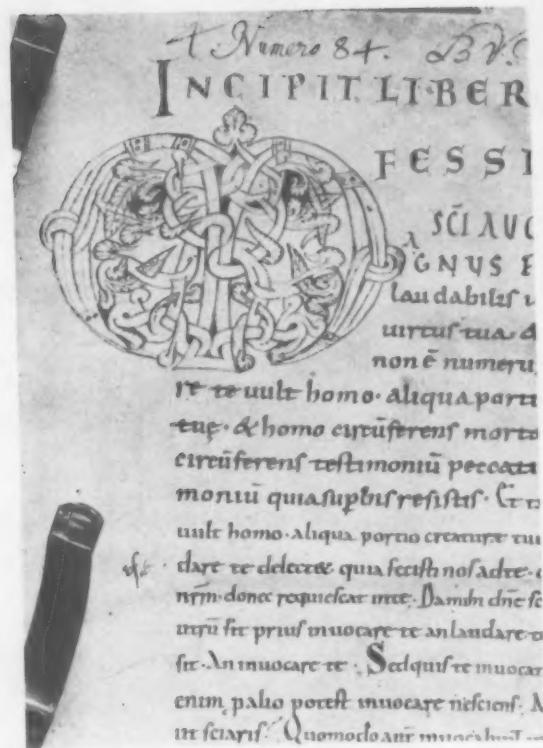


FIG. 50—EINSIEDELN, STIFTSBIBLIOTHEK: MS. 187, S. AUGUSTINI CONFESSIONES, PAGE 2. SCHOOL OF EINSIEDELN. SECOND HALF X CENTURY

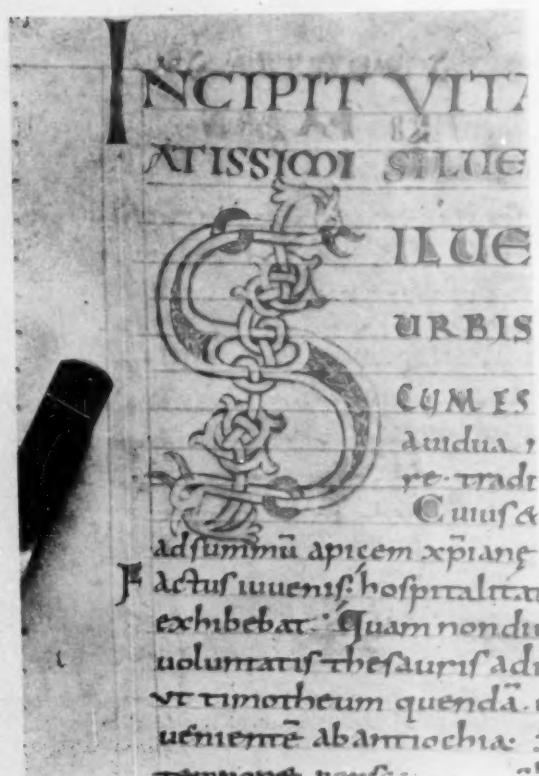


FIG. 51—EINSIEDELN, STIFTSBIBLIOTHEK: MS. 257, VITAE SANCTORUM, PAGE 2. SCHOOL OF EINSIEDELN. SECOND HALF X CENTURY



FIG. 52—EINSIEDELN, STIFTSBIBLIOTHEK: MS. 148, AUGUSTINI SERMONES ET FRAGMENTA SERMONUM, PAGE 1. SCHOOL OF EINSIEDELN. SECOND HALF X CENTURY



FIG. 53—EINSIEDELN, STIFTSBIBLIOTHEK: MS. 146,  
AUGUSTINUS, DE CIVITATE DEI, FOL. 1 v. SCHOOL  
OF EINSIEDELN. SECOND HALF X CENTURY



FIG. 54—EINSIEDELN, STIFTSBIBLIOTHEK: MS. 351,  
OROSIUS, PAGE 3. SCHOOL OF EINSIEDELN. SEC  
OND HALF X CENTURY



FIG. 55—CIVIDALE, LIBRARY: PSALTER OF EGBERT.  
SCHOOL OF EINSIEDELN. END OF X CENTURY



FIG. 56—CIVIDALE, LIBRARY: PSALTER OF EGBERT.  
SCHOOL OF EINSIEDELN. END OF X CENTURY



FIG. 57—PARIS, BIBL. NAT.: LAT. 10514. POUSSAY GOSPELS. SCHOOL OF EINSIEDELN. END OF X CENTURY



FIG. 58—PARIS, BIBL. NAT.: LAT. 10514. POUSSAY GOSPELS. SCHOOL OF EINSIEDELN. END OF X CENTURY



FIG. 59—KÄRNTEN, ST. PAUL IM LAVANTAL: MS. XXIX. 2. 2, SACRAMENTARY, FOL. 10 v. SCHOOL OF EINSIEDELN. END OF X CENTURY



FIG. 60—TRIER, STADTBIBLIOTHEK: CODEX EGBERTI. SCHOOL OF REICHENAU. C. 988

there in the tenth century would appear from the entries at the end which describe the altar of the church at Einsiedeln.<sup>1</sup>

The culmination of this style at the end of the tenth century is found in a group of manuscripts of which three have illumination. The group is composed of the Kärnten Sacramentary (XXIX.2.2), the Psalter of Egbert at Cividale, the Poussay Gospels at Paris (Bibl. Nat. lat. 10514), the so-called Reichenau sacramentary at Florence,<sup>2</sup> and Add. 20692 in the British Museum.<sup>3</sup> The various attributions of the single manuscripts or of the group by Haseloff, Swarzenski, Eisler, and Merton have already been alluded to.<sup>4</sup>

Haseloff's attribution of the group to Reichenau has been doubted primarily because of the glaring differences in the figure style of this group from that of representative Reichenau manuscripts. Even the iconography is not the usual Reichenau iconography but displays a mixture of elements. In the Poussay Gospels, for instance, Christ appears beardless on the dedication page but bearded in the gospel scenes. In the Crucifixion (Fig. 57) he wears only the loin cloth and not the usual Reichenau colobium. In the Ascension scene<sup>5</sup> the bearded type of Christ, His posture, and the book recall the St. Gall<sup>6</sup> type, though the lower part of the scene is closer to Reichenau.<sup>7</sup>

As for the figure style as it appears in the Egbert Psalter (Fig. 55), the Poussay Gospels (Figs. 57 and 58), and the Kärnten Sacramentary (Fig. 59), the large staring eyes, the shaded eyebrows, now frequently tending to be drawn by two lines, the wavy lines along the edges of the drapery, the cross hatchings, and the disjointed thigh postures are all particular features and earmarks of the early group at Einsiedeln,<sup>8</sup> and occur nowhere in the representative manuscripts of the Reichenau school. Also note the large dotted nimbus and the use in both the Egbert Psalter and the Poussay Gospels of the same type of throne as appears in Einsiedeln 156 (Fig. 29), 167 (Fig. 33), and 135 (Fig. 34). The thrones are, moreover, not to be paralleled in Reichenau manuscripts, where the stone podium throne is the common one. The initial style of this group has characteristics which make one associate it at once with Reichenau manuscripts. Strangely, however, this comparison is with the later manuscripts of the school, that is, the Aachen Gospels<sup>9</sup> and the Codex Egberti (Fig. 60), and not with the earlier Eburnant group, as the figure style had been. But when closely confronted even with the Codex Egberti initials the Einsiedeln group shows a much more exuberant activity in their growth, and a tighter, bunchier interweaving at the borders and in the initial stems themselves (Figs. 56, 61, and 62). It is the St. Gall tradition such as is seen in the *Evangelium Longum*<sup>10</sup> or in the *Wolfenbüttel* manuscript<sup>11</sup> translated into late tenth-century terms.

An initial style similar to that which appears in this group is found in a portion of the Petershausen Sacramentary at Heidelberg (Figs. 63 and 64). This manuscript is an important member of the Eburnant group. It has a calendar which Oechelhauser<sup>12</sup> showed to belong definitely to the abbey of Reichenau. He noted, however, that the calendar and the sacramentary do not entirely correspond. But he concluded that the manuscript was put together from two different Reichenau manuscripts. There is still

<sup>1</sup>Ringholz, *Anzeiger für schweizerische Geschichte*, no. 1, 1898, pp. 11-16. There is also another St. Gall manuscript at Einsiedeln (no. 40), which escaped Merton in his publication of the St. Gall school. Its initials are related to those of Einsiedeln 17, and in addition it has readings for the vigil and feast days of both St. Gall and St. Otmar.

<sup>2</sup>Merton, *op. cit.*, pl. XCIII; Sauerland and Haseloff, *op. cit.*, pls. 59, 60.

<sup>3</sup>Merton, *op. cit.*, pl. XCIV.

<sup>4</sup>See above, p. 79, notes 2, 3, 4, and 5.

<sup>5</sup>Sauerland and Haseloff, *op. cit.*, pl. 55, no. 4.

<sup>6</sup>Merton, *op. cit.*, pl. LXXIX, no. 2.

<sup>7</sup>Leidinger, *op. cit.*, Heft V, pl. 23.

<sup>8</sup>Swarzenski, *op. cit.*, p. 481, n. 73, was the first to compare the facial types of the Kärnten Sacramentary with the Isidor MS. at Einsiedeln.

<sup>9</sup>Beissel, *Die Handschrift der Kaisers Otto im Münster zu Aachen*.

<sup>10</sup>Landsberger, *op. cit.*, Abb. 15<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., Abb. 15<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>12</sup>Oechelhauser, *Die Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek zu Heidelberg*, I, pp. 4-55.

another variation which has been overlooked. The initial style of the latter portion of the sacramentary is quite different from that in the earlier part of the manuscript. In fact, the earlier part has initials and decorated pages (Fig. 65) in the style of the Gero Codex<sup>1</sup> and of the Leipzig Lectionary.<sup>2</sup> This style, which is the Reichenau style, is characterized by loosely winding stalks inside the initials, from which leaves and flowers break at intervals along the stalks. Knobs are few, interlaces quite loose. But in the later portion of the manuscript the knobs are ubiquitous, the winding of the stalks is tighter and more restless, and leaves survive only as trefoiled, quatrefoiled, or spear-shaped finials. It is exactly the style of the initials in the Kärnten Sacramentary and associated manuscripts. It belongs to Einsiedeln. Is it a mere coincidence that, as Oechelhauser noted, from folio 103 on there are only fourteen lines to the written page instead of the sixteen in the earlier part of the manuscript, and that the Einsiedeln type of initials appears after folio 103?

The "assembled" quality of the manuscript is apparent. It was put together for the monastery of Petershausen.<sup>3</sup> Petershausen was founded in 983 at the instance of Gebhard II of Constance, who had long desired a monastery nearer Constance. He consequently acquired the land for it from Reichenau, and sent a certain Rupert to Einsiedeln to become acquainted with the reformed rule. Following that he appointed Periger, an Einsiedeln monk, to go with Rupert to Petershausen, where Periger was chosen the first abbot of the new monastery. The influence of Einsiedeln was therefore paramount at Petershausen. The church was dedicated with great ceremony in 992. And the sacramentary was undoubtedly put together for that occasion. Whether it was assembled at Einsiedeln from fragmentary manuscripts and completed there, or whether it was assembled at Petershausen does not matter much. The fact remains that the early portion and the calendar point to Reichenau while the latter part is a further witness of Einsiedeln work of the best period. The greater elaborateness of the Egbert Psalter and related manuscripts is due primarily to the fact that they were made for export and special use. To the same reason may be attributed the absence of specific references in the calendars of these manuscripts which might point to Einsiedeln alone. The sacramentary at Kärnten holds itself to the most usual feast days. A later marginal note on folio 37, verso, refers to the special mention of St. Blasius' feast day at the end of the manuscript. That special mention of St. Blasius is an evident twelfth-century addition, and proves effectively that the manuscript was not made at the monastery of St. Blasius but was adapted when it reached St. Blasius from Einsiedeln.

The Psalter of Egbert at Cividale and the so-called Reichenau Sacramentary in Florence also contain such general litanies<sup>4</sup> that they might fit any South German or Swiss abbey. The appearance of Sts. Maurice, Sigismund, Ursus, Felix, Regula, Afra, and Walpurga in these calendars argues just as strongly for Einsiedeln as St. Januarius or St. Pirmin do for Reichenau. The absence of Meginrad is, of course, natural, as his body was not transferred from Reichenau until 1039. He appears in calendars, litanies, and documents of the last half of the eleventh century.

The initial style of this late tenth-century group with its strong Reichenau characteristics forms the transitional link between the earlier manuscripts and those at the end of the eleventh century. Considering the period of almost a hundred years which lies

<sup>1</sup>H. Schmidt, *Die Miniaturen des Gero Codex*, Darmstadt, 1924, pls. XVI, XVIII, and XXXIII.

<sup>2</sup>Merton, *op. cit.*, pl. LXXXIX, no. 1.

<sup>3</sup>For the history of Petershausen and the connection

with Einsiedeln see Ringholz, *Geschichte*, etc., pp. 50ff., and M.G.SS., XX, 621ff.

<sup>4</sup>Sauerland and Haseloff, *op. cit.*, pp. 191ff.



FIG. 61.—KÄRNTEN, ST. PAUL IM LAVANTAL: MS. XXIX. 2. 2, SACRAMENTARY, FOL. 41 v. SCHOOL OF EINSIEDELN. END OF X CENTURY



FIG. 63.—HEIDELBERG, UNIVERSITÄTSBIBLIOTHEK:  
PETERSHAUSEN SACRAMENTARY, FOL. 132 v.  
SCHOOL OF EINSIEDELN. END OF X CENTURY



FIG. 62.—KÄRNTEN, ST. PAUL IM LAVANTAL: MS. XXIX. 2. 2, SACRAMENTARY, FOL. 78. SCHOOL OF EINSIEDELN. END OF X CENTURY



FIG. 64.—HEIDELBERG, UNIVERSITÄTSBIBLIOTHEK:  
PETERSHAUSEN SACRAMENTARY. SCHOOL OF EIN-  
SIEDELN. END OF X CENTURY

PLATE LXXII



FIG. 65—HEIDELBERG, UNIVERSITÄTSBIBLIOTHEK:  
PETERSHAUSEN SACRAMENTARY. SCHOOL OF  
REICHENAU. SECOND HALF OF X CENTURY

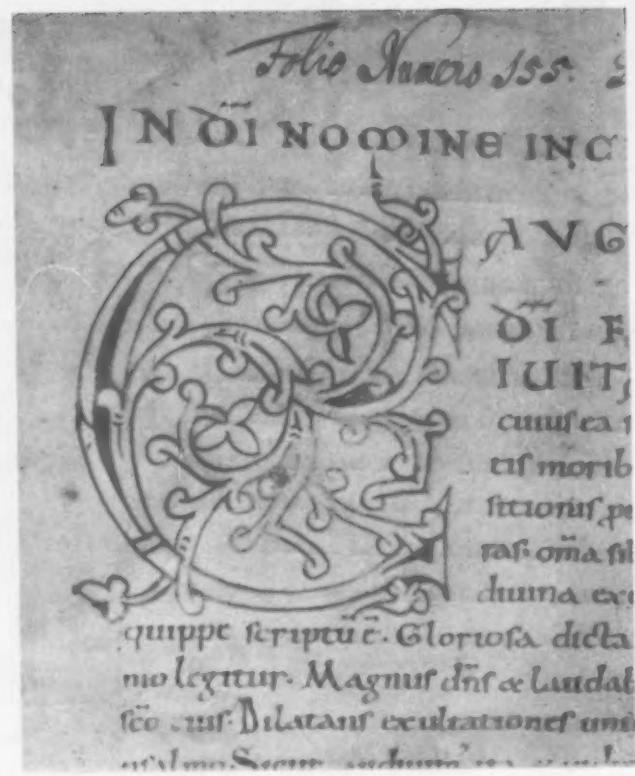


FIG. 66—EINSIEDELN, STIFTSBIBLIOTHEK: MS. 144,  
AUGUSTINUS, DE CIVITATE DEI, FOL. 1. SCHOOL  
OF EINSIEDELN. EARLY XI CENTURY



FIG. 67—EINSIEDELN, STIFTSBIBLIOTHEK: MS. 261,  
LIFE OF ST. UDALRICUS OF AUGSBURG. SCHOOL OF  
EINSIEDELN. EARLY XI CENTURY



FIG. 68—EINSIEDELN, STIFTSBIBLIOTHEK: MS. 1,  
BIBLE, PAGE 337. SCHOOL OF EINSIEDELN. XI-  
XII CENTURY

between the Psalter of Egbert and the Kärnten XXV.2.25, the relation of the initials of these two groups is still quite close. Quite naturally the later group will show the influence of the eleventh-century Reichenau style. But note the survival of certain specific characteristics. Elaborating on an idea incipient in the Reichenau portion of the Heidelberg Sacramentary, where color appears outside the borders or arched pages, or as filling for the stems of small initials like D, the Sacramentary at Kärnten (Fig. 61), the Egbert Psalter,<sup>1</sup> and the Poussay Gospels in particular use spots of color outside initials as a background for projecting finial leaves. This still appears in initials of the later group, for example, Einsiedeln 85 (Fig. 14). Another characteristic survival appears in the tying of the stem of the initial D to the circle of the body (Figs. 3, 40, and 41).

As for iconography, the survival of the Christ type in the "Te Igitur" pages is quite remarkable. In comparing the example in the Kärnten Sacramentary (Fig. 59) with those of Einsiedeln 113 and 114 (Figs. 10 and 12), note particularly the posture of the head and hands, the dotted nimbus, the knot of the loin cloth, and the position of the right leg in front of the left. Again the vigor of the Reichenau figure style, which made itself felt almost all over Europe, accounts for the greater dependence of the later Einsiedeln manuscripts on that figure style.

Three other manuscripts must be considered as examples of Einsiedeln work of the first half of the eleventh century, between the Egbert Psalter group and the late eleventh-century group. One is Einsiedeln 144 (Fig. 66). Its initial style is simple and related to the Kärnten Sacramentary, and consequently may still be of the tenth century. The other two, Einsiedeln 261 (Fig. 67) and Vienna Cod. 573,<sup>2</sup> illustrate the life of St. Udalricus of Augsburg. Swarzenski<sup>3</sup> believed the latter to be the actual dedication copy which Berno of Reichenau, who wrote the life of St. Udalricus, sent to Fridebold of Augsburg. Merton attributed it to Augsburg as a copy of the original work. But the figure style, as well as the initials, fits in with the development at Einsiedeln. Compare Fig. 67 and Merton's pl. XC, no. 1, with Figs. 12 and 27, and the initial on Merton's pl. XC, no. 2, with the style of Fig. 7. There is an initial R in Einsiedeln 113 which is almost identical with the Vienna one. Furthermore, Udalricus was venerated at Einsiedeln, as I have shown, which would account sufficiently for the interest in copying Berno's account of his life.

The picture of the scriptorium at Einsiedeln is, then, to be summed up as follows. Founded in 934, in a position almost equidistant from Reichenau and St. Gall, Einsiedeln developed its early style from the same sources as the sister establishments, and frequently even depended on them. The most powerful artistic influences at work in that part of Europe in the mid tenth century were the Ada and St.-Denis traditions. The latter was particularly strong through the presence of the treasures of Arnulf at St. Gall. It is reflected in the Tuotilo ivory at St. Gall and the Oberzell and Goldbach frescoes. One of the earliest indigenous Einsiedeln manuscripts, no. 38, shows the same influence in its figure style, though it shows also the local influence of the style seen in no. 176, which was probably presented to the monastery by Otto I. In the last quarter of the tenth century, though the manuscripts still show a strong influence from St.-Denis, the stylistic resemblances are very close to Reichenau, particularly to manuscripts of the Gero Codex type. This was at the time when Gregory was abbot of Einsiedeln and when Wolfgang, a monk trained at Reichenau, was head of the school at Einsiedeln. It was at this time too that Einsiedeln's

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pl. 39, folio 32<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>2</sup>Merton, *op. cit.*, p. 84 and pl. XC, nos. 1 and 2.

<sup>3</sup>Swarzenski, *op. cit.*, p. 390 and n.

reforms were adopted by other German monasteries and that manuscripts of the Egbert Psalter type were made for export. The figure style taken from the Gero Codex type of manuscript persisted at Einsiedeln and developed its own peculiarities even after Reichenau had developed a new style illustrated by the Gospels of Otto at Aachen. The Einsiedeln initials retain the same forms, related to, and at times scarcely distinguishable from, those of Reichenau, for example, in the Psalter of Egbert. St. Gall seems to have exerted some influence in the more foliate quality of the earlier initials, and in the use of wavy interlace. The iconography also betrays a close St. Gall connection, as exhibited in the Ascension scene in the Poussay Gospels. Late in the eleventh century the influence from Reichenau is again apparent. The renaissance at Reichenau under Abbot Berno, when such masterpieces as Cimelia 57 and 58 at Munich were produced, left an indelible mark on all later Ottonian illumination. Einsiedeln was no exception. Consequently, in the eleventh-century group at Einsiedeln even the figure style has been affected by the Reichenau style. The initials take on a more stylized, frozen form, which persists right into the twelfth century. The Bible, Einsiedeln no. 1 (Fig. 68), shows such a persistence, which seems to be a direct going back to earlier initial forms.

#### Chronological Summary of the Einsiedeln Manuscripts

934—Foundation of the monastery.

948—Consecration of the chapel.

964-993—Abbot Gregory.

- a. Early group: Einsiedeln nos. 38, 16, 131, 135, 137, 141, 143, 146, 156, 159, 167, 255, 256, 257, 312, 351.
- b. Later group: Cividale, Psalter of Egbert; Heidelberg, Sacramentary (latter half); Kärnten, MS. XXIX.2.2; Florence, Bibl. Naz. Cen., Sacramentary; London, British Museum, Add. 20692.

End of tenth century: Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS. Lat. 10514, Gospels from Poussay.

Early eleventh century: Einsiedeln nos. 144, 261; Vienna, Staatsbibl., no 573.

Second half of eleventh century: Einsiedeln nos. 85, 111 (fol. 1), 112, 113, 114, 117, 140, 142, 147, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 256 (fol. 1), 369; Kärnten, MS. XXV.2.25. Of this group, the manuscripts which still have fuller and more exuberant stalks, such as nos. 85, 113, and 114, are nearer the middle of the century, while those with the flatter, thinner, and more frozen treatment of the same features, such as Einsiedeln 111 or the Kärnten missal, are nearer the end of the century.

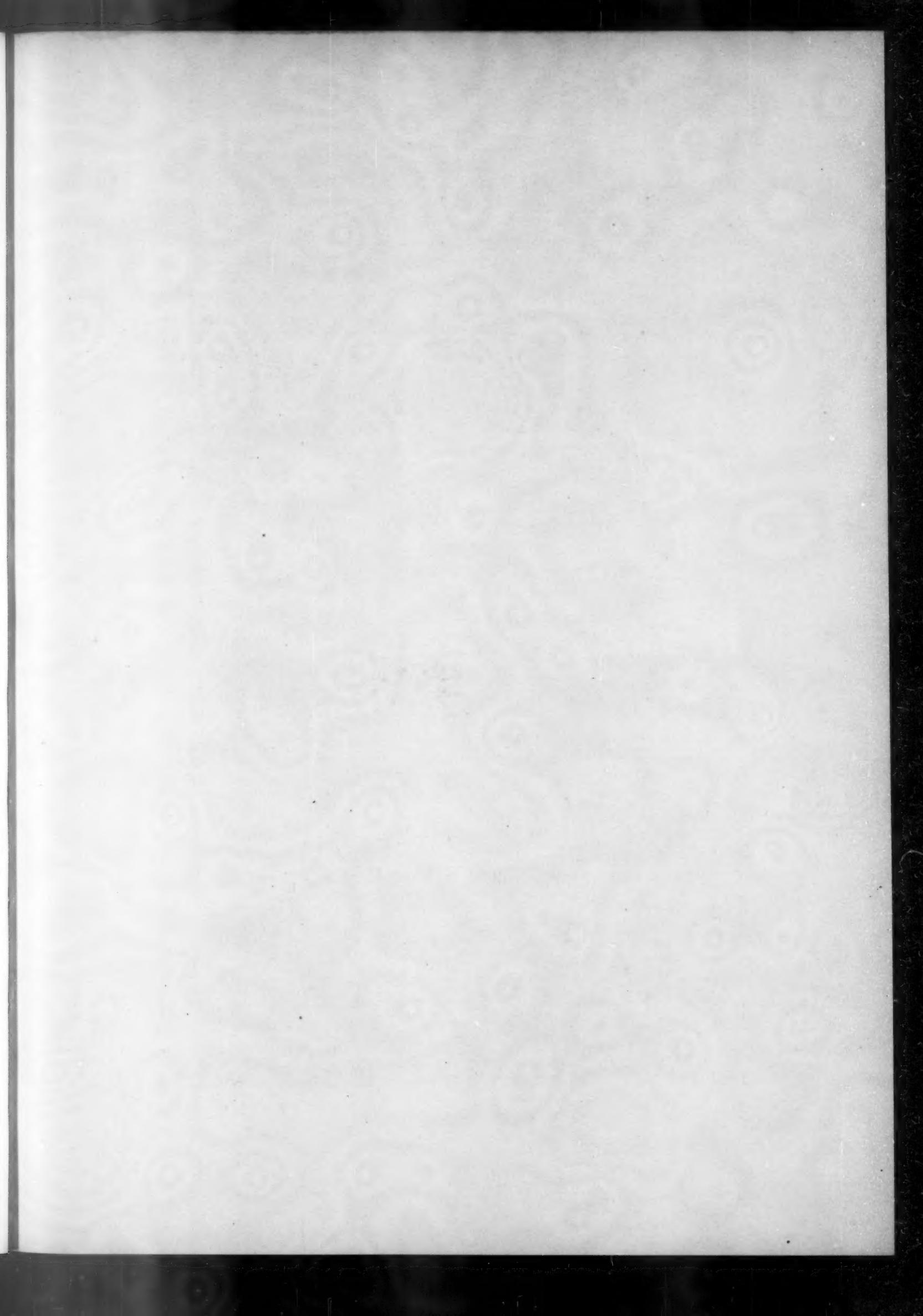


PLATE LXXIII

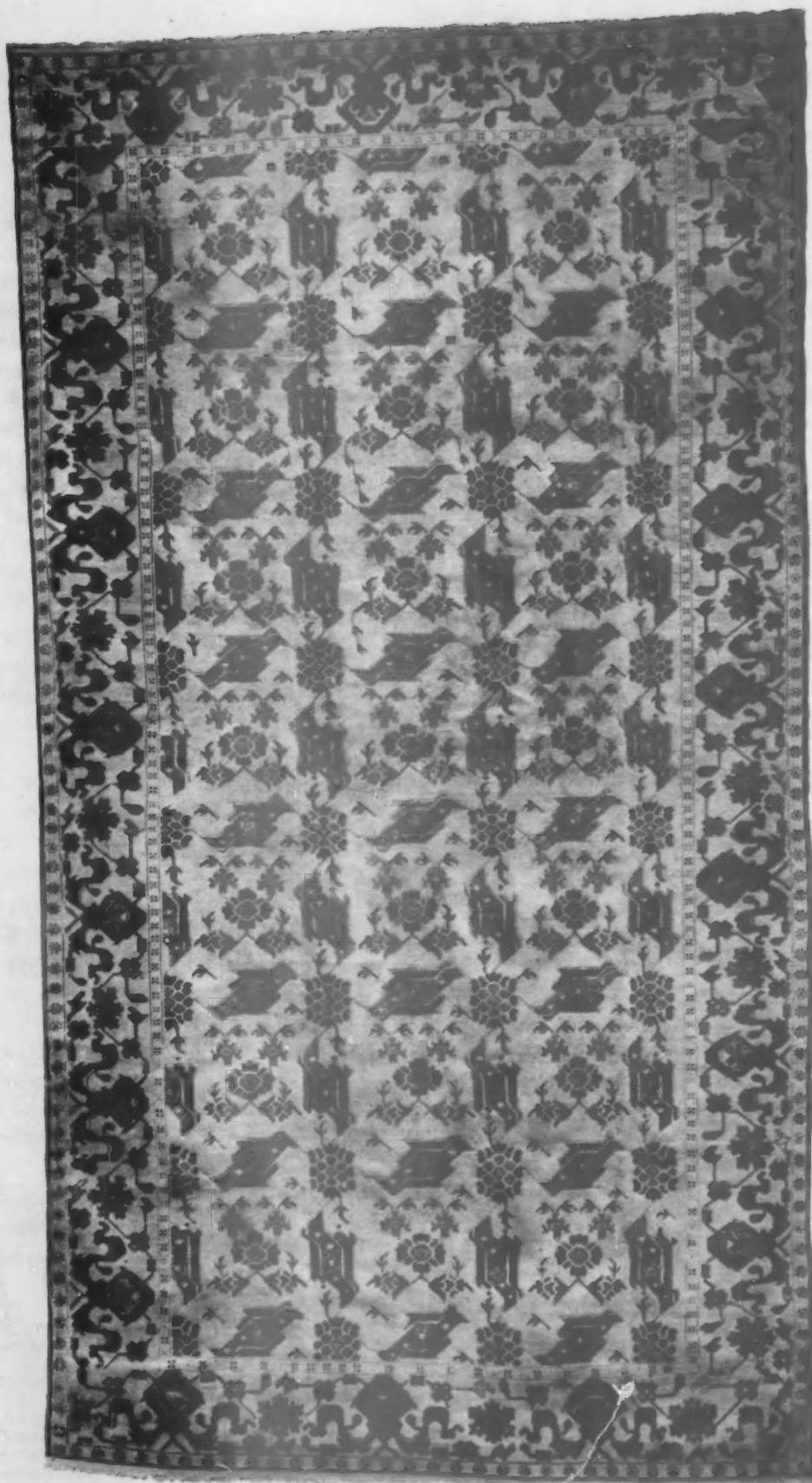


FIG. 1—NEW YORK, METROPOLITAN MUSEUM: TURKISH "BIRD" RUG

## Turkish "Bird" Rugs and Their Design

By R. M. RIEFSTAHL

To those who understand how to read design the "bird" rug interprets a chapter of Turkish history. Its pattern is a creation of the late sixteenth or the early seventeenth century, a period when Turkey was at her greatest expansion. By the beginning of the seventeenth century the north of Africa, the Balkans, Hungary, all acknowledged the sway of the sultan. Mesopotamia was ripe to fall into his hand. A brief truce had been reached in the long conflict between the Ottomans and the western powers. Peace had been made with the Venetians and with the Austrians, to remain unbroken to the middle of the century. Trade flourished, and the exportation of rugs from Asia Minor to European markets was an important item on its balance sheet.

The design of the "bird" rug is one of several allover patterns developed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in response to the increasing European demand for "Turkey" carpets. Artists of the sixteenth century, working for the great lords of Turkey, had created elaborate medallion patterns. But the intricacy of these patterns, demanding so much time and skill from the weaver, and their balanced compositions, predetermining and limiting the size of the rugs, unfitted them for rugs intended for a general market. So designs were evolved with a very simple repeat that was easy and comparatively quick to weave and adaptable to rugs in a large range of sizes.

Simple as they were, these allover designs achieved a restrained beauty and a perfect balance of composition. The best known of them at the present day is that of the "Holbein" rugs, so-called because of their frequent appearance in paintings of the German master—a design of arabesque leaves and flowers, yellow on a red ground. This design was a product of the sixteenth century. Among later patterns, dating from the last of the sixteenth and the very early seventeenth century, are that of repeated flower groups, generally in red and yellow with touches of blue, which is employed, for example, in a small rug of the Metropolitan Museum,<sup>1</sup> and that of the "bird" motif.

A number of "bird" rugs have been preserved in museums and important collections in Europe and America. Of those in Europe a good specimen is in the Museum of Decorative Art, Berlin. Another is in the Victoria and Albert Museum.<sup>2</sup> The Probst collection and the collection of Prince Schwarzenberg each contains an excellent example<sup>3</sup> and one is the property of Dr. Wilhelm Bode.<sup>4</sup> Still others were formerly in the Simonetti collection in Rome and in the collection of Dr. K. Zander, Berlin.<sup>5</sup>

American collectors early directed their attention toward the "bird" group. The late Mr. C. F. Williams, of Norristown, Pennsylvania, owned two. One of these has been on exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum since 1919.<sup>6</sup> An interesting specimen

<sup>1</sup>In the Ballard collection. See Breck and Morris, *The Ballard Collection of Oriental Rugs*, 1923, no. 31.

<sup>2</sup>No. 134.

<sup>3</sup>Vienna I. R. Austrian Commercial Museum, *Oriental Carpets*, edited by Sir Caspar Purdon Clarke, pl. VI. The example in the Probst collection measures about 11 by 5 feet; the one belonging to Prince Schwarzenberg measures about 13 by 8 feet.

<sup>4</sup>Bode and Kuehnel, *Antique Rugs from the Near East* (English translation by Riefstahl), pl. 78.

<sup>5</sup>Sarre and Martin, *Die Ausstellung von Meister-*

*werken Muhammedanischer Kunst in München*, 1910, I, pl. 73. The rug of the collection of Dr. Zander measures about 13 by 7 feet.

<sup>6</sup>The Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Catalogue of a Loan Exhibition of Early Oriental Rugs*, by W. R. Valentiner, New York, November 1, 1910—January 15, 1911, no. 11. For the other example in the Williams collection see Pennsylvania Museum and School of Industrial Art, *Specie! Loan Exhibition of Carpets and Other Textiles from Asia Minor*, Philadelphia, 1919, no. 51.

(Fig. 1) was acquired by James Ballard and presented by him to the Metropolitan Museum.<sup>1</sup> What is apparently the largest rug of the group on record (Fig. 2) belongs to P. W. French and Co., New York. It measures fifteen feet, three inches, by nine feet, five inches.

These "bird" rugs may all be assigned to the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century. The character of the design points to that period. But, since the argument of style always needs substantiation, there is luckily other proof that the design was current as early as the year 1600. Bode cites a "bird" rug copied on a fresco in the Royal Palace at Munich that was painted by the Flemish artist Pieter Candid (de Witte). A painting by Varotari in the Hermitage at Petrograd, dating from about the year 1625, also shows a "bird" rug. These two paintings prove beyond a doubt that the rugs are really of the period in which the internal evidence of style and general appearance would place them.

The design of the "bird" rugs is a repeated pattern of squares enclosing symmetrical flower groups. The sides of the squares are formed by roughly lozenge-shaped motifs in the semblance of a conventionalized bird, which connect rosettes at the corners. The square repeats cover the entire surface of the rug, with the exception of the border, which may be either an angular cloud design or a bold zigzag. The background is always white, softened to a fine ivory tone; the design shows mellow reds and blues, mingled with tans and generally outlined with black.

Though it has been said that their white backgrounds were a concession to European taste, the "bird" rugs are purely Oriental in color, as in design. Rugs with white backgrounds were woven in sixteenth-century Persia for the home market. Furthermore, the Europe of the time of the "bird" rugs was fond of strong colors and imported hundreds of rugs of brilliant hue and bold design. The vogue of delicate pastel shades came later, with Louis XV. Then the European market for Oriental rugs declined. Turkish weavers of the eighteenth century tried to meet the crisis by making rugs in pale colors and in European, or what they considered European, design. But at the time when the "bird" rugs were created, Oriental weavers did not have to consider making concessions in order to sell their wares to the West.

The design of the "bird" rugs is a rarely interesting object lesson in the evolution of design. It has been made the subject of a study by Mr. C. E. C. Tattersall, of the Victoria and Albert Museum.<sup>2</sup> My own research has, however, brought me to conclusions somewhat at variance with his findings.

As I have said, the design of the center field consists of squares enclosing flower groups. These flower groups may be dismissed in a few words. They have a certain similarity of construction to the repeat design of the class of standard-pattern rugs that may be called, for brevity's sake, "Smyrna seventeenth-century rugs."<sup>3</sup> Each group forms a well defined, stiffly symmetrical plant unit, in which the direction of growth is clearly indicated. A short central stem bears a rosette at its top. From the bottom of the stem branch two smaller stems, each bearing a flower and a leaf. These stems, after the manner of plants, curve upward, toward the light. From the upper part of the rosette issue two more stems, also directed upward, each of which bears a small palmette flower, and at the top of each flower are two up-curved leaves. Though in all the "bird" rugs I have seen, the direction of growth of this flower group is strictly observed by the designer,

<sup>1</sup>Breck and Morris, *op. cit.*, no. 35. This rug measures 11 feet, 1 inch, by 5 feet, 11 inches.

<sup>2</sup>In *Burlington Magazine*, XXXVII, 1920, pp. 123ff.

<sup>3</sup>Specimens are in the Fletcher collection, Metro-

politan Museum, no. 36662, and in the J. D. McIlhenny collection, Philadelphia (see Philadelphia catalogue cited in note 6, preceding page, no. 9).

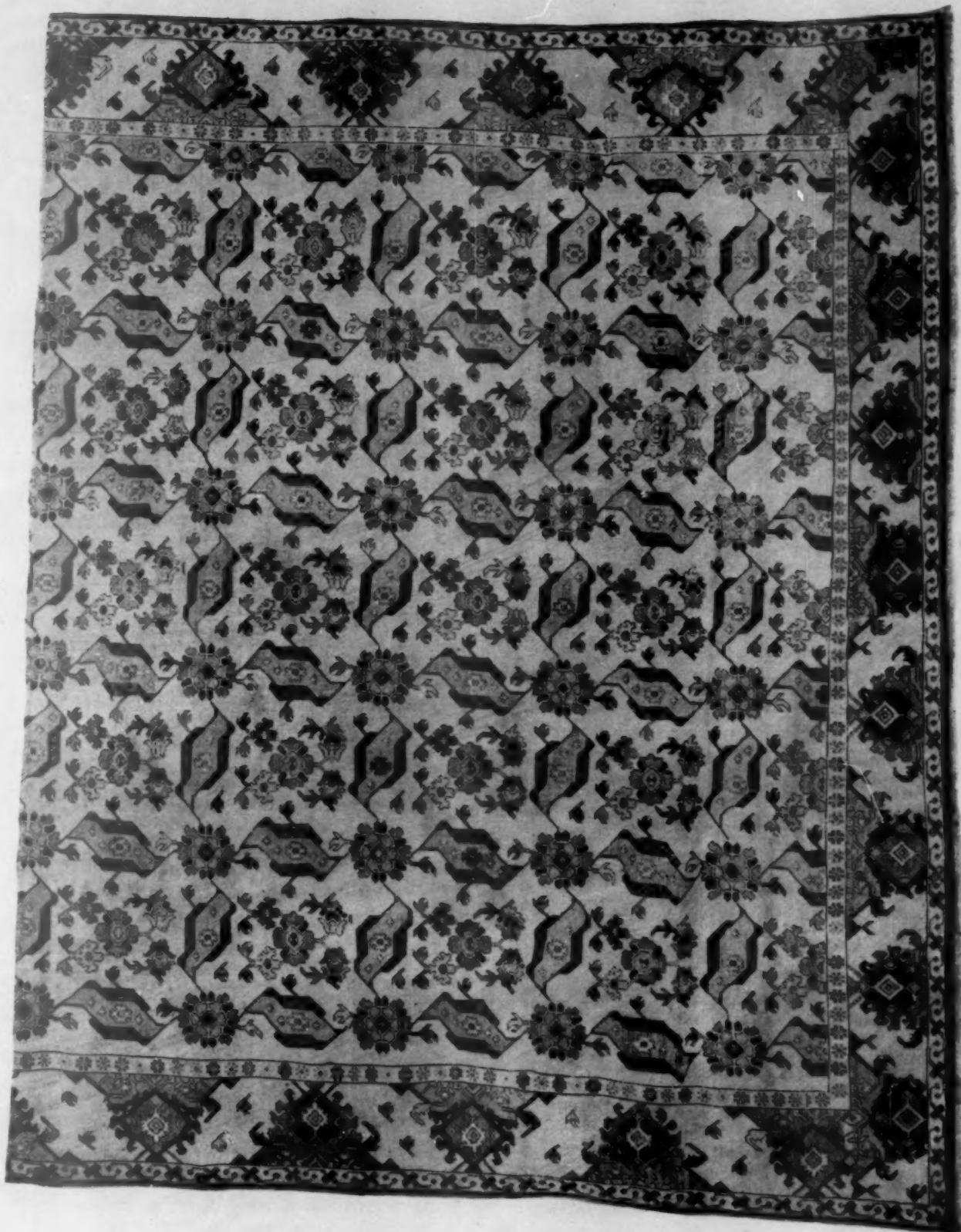


FIG. 2—NEW YORK, P. W. FRENCH & CO.: "BUHD" RUG

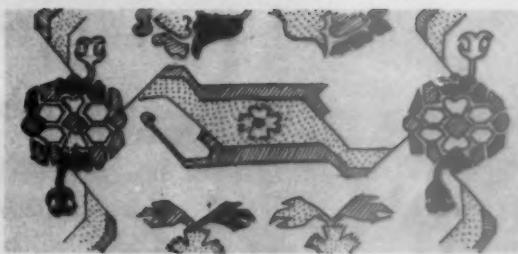


FIG. 3—NEW YORK, METROPOLITAN MUSEUM: SKETCH OF "BIRD" MOTIF ON A RUG FROM THE COLLECTION OF MR. C. F. WILLIAMS



FIG. 4—VIENNA, GINZKEY COLLECTION: SKETCH OF DOUBLE ARABESQUE MOTIF ON A "VASE" RUG (After Bode and Kuehnel)



FIG. 5—CONSTANTINOPLE, OLD SERAGLIO: SKETCH OF DOUBLE ARABESQUE MOTIF ON THE BORDER OF A TURKISH TILE FIELD (After Neugebauer and Orendi)



FIG. 6—VIENNA, AUSTRIAN MUSEUM OF ART AND INDUSTRY: SKETCH OF DETAIL ON THE BORDER OF A "VASE" RUG (After Bode and Kuehnel)



FIG. 7—PARIS, LOUVRE: SKETCH OF DOUBLE SERRATED LEAF MOTIF ON THE BORDER OF A TURKISH TILE FIELD (After Migeon)



FIG. 8—CONSTANTINOPLE, MOSQUE OF RUSTEM PASHA: DETAIL OF A TURKISH TILE FIELD (After Raymund)



FIG. 9—FORMERLY BERBERYAN COLLECTION, NEW YORK: SKETCH OF ARABESQUE "BIRD" MOTIF ON A RUG

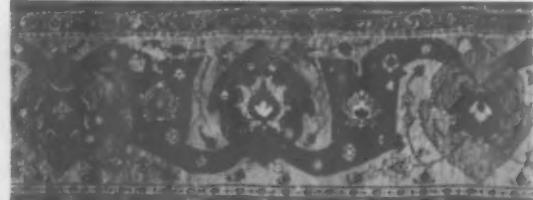


FIG. 10—VIENNA, AUSTRIAN MUSEUM OF ART AND INDUSTRY: "DOUBLE S" MOTIF ON THE BORDER OF A HERAT RUG



FIG. 11—NEW YORK, METROPOLITAN MUSEUM: SKETCH OF "DOUBLE S" DETAIL ON THE BORDER OF AN ANIMAL RUG



FIG. 12—NORRISTOWN, PA., COLLECTION OF MR. C. F. WILLIAMS: SKETCH OF ANGULAR SERRATED LEAVES ON THE BORDER OF AN ARMENIAN RUG (After Bode and Kuehnel)



FIG. 13—NEW YORK, METROPOLITAN MUSEUM: SKETCH OF "SINGLE S" DETAIL ON THE BORDER OF A CAUCASIAN RUG

it is usually ignored by those who prepare catalogues and other publications; almost invariably the *motif* is shown upside down. The sketch given with Mr. Tattersall's article shows a deviation from the usual structure of the *motif*, and, though I have not seen the original, I think it has been rendered inexactly.

Far more interesting than this central group is the "bird" *motif*, which forms the sides of the squares. A study of the design soon reveals that the "bird" is not a bird at all. It resolves itself into two angularized arabesque leaves, the one turned to the right, the other to the left, to enclose a compartment of a color different from the background. The real character of the pattern is particularly evident in the small rug from the Williams collection, now at the Metropolitan Museum (Fig. 3).<sup>1</sup> In this rug small tendrils attached to what might be called the wings of the bird, if it were a bird, give weight to the hypothesis of the arabesque origin of the design.

Mr. Tattersall states that the "bird" *motif* is "probably derived from floral or leaf devices," but adds that "so far no intermediate pattern has been found to connect this clearly with a primitive floral design." If, however, the "bird" *motif* may be interpreted as an angular metamorphosis of two fluent arabesque leaves, the upper growing down from left to right, the lower growing up from right to left, the two enclosing a compartment of a color different from the background and connecting rosette flowers, an original for the design is not far to seek. The identical *motif* is to be seen in fluent arabesques on the border (Fig. 4) of a "vase" rug of the Ginzkey collection in Vienna.<sup>2</sup> It appears also in the extremely interesting border (Fig. 5) of an enameled tile field in the Old Seraglio in Constantinople.<sup>3</sup> Here the rosettes are replaced by arabesque flowers, but the "bird" *motif* of distinct (probably bolus red) color is clearly framed by two arabesque leaves. The *motif* appears again, somewhat angularized, on the border (Fig. 6) of the "vase" rug belonging to the Austrian Museum of Art and Industry.<sup>4</sup> Another version is to be found on a "vase" rug in the Victoria and Albert Museum,<sup>5</sup> and yet another is used in the border which surrounds a field of figural wall tiles from the palace of Ispahan, now in the Louvre.<sup>6</sup> In the sixteenth century the *motif*, in common with many others, was sometimes translated into a scheme of "Chinese peonies" and serrated leaves, which became the rage in Persia in about 1500 and soon spread to Turkey. Such a translation forms the border of the sixteenth-century Turkish (so-called "Rhodian") tile field (Fig. 7) from the palace of Piali Pasha at Constantinople, now in the Louvre.<sup>7</sup> A step further is the transformation of the fluid curves of the *motif* into the rigid angularity of the "bird" rugs.

The angularization of arabesque forms was a favorite play of Turkish rug designers of the sixteenth century. It is typical not only of the "bird" rugs but of other rugs with allover patterns. The design of the "Holbein" rugs is formed by arabesque *motifs* frozen into stiffness in much the same manner as are the "bird" arabesques, and the *motifs* of a later group of rugs, to which a rug in the Metropolitan Museum<sup>8</sup> belongs, show a similar angularization.

Tile decoration is a valuable aid to the study of rug design, and it is in a sixteenth-century Turkish tile field that the "bird" *motif*, employed, not for a border, but for an allover pattern similar to that of the "bird" rugs, is caught in the arabesque stage of its

<sup>1</sup>The first rug referred to in note 6, p. 91.

<sup>2</sup>Bode and Kuehnel, *op. cit.*, fig. 36.

<sup>3</sup>Neugebauer and Orendi, *Orientalische Teppichkunde*, fig. 21.

<sup>4</sup>Bode and Kuehnel, *op. cit.*, fig. 34.

<sup>5</sup>Reproduced by Kendrick, *Guide to the Collection of*

*Carpets* (Victoria and Albert Museum), no. 8.

<sup>6</sup>Migeon, *L'orient musulman*, II, pl. 34.

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.*, II, pl. 42. An analogous design appears on a "Rhodian" tile reproduced by H. Jacoby, *Eine Sammlung orientalischer Teppiche*, Berlin, 1923, fig. 63a.

<sup>8</sup>Breck and Morris, *op. cit.*, no. 31.

evolution (Fig. 8). This field<sup>1</sup> is covered by a system of rosettes placed at the corners of imaginary squares and connected by arabesque leaves to form what might be called a double "bird" pattern. From each upper rosette a leaf curves diagonally toward the center of the square, where it meets another leaf curving upward from the lower rosette to enclose what roughly corresponds to the "bird" motif. In the right-hand half of Fig. 8 part of the design has been blotted out to make the resemblance more evident. When the neglected subject of Turkish tile decoration has been more thoroughly studied, it is not at all impossible that an exact replica of the "bird" design may come to light on a tile field.

Since writing the above paragraph I have come upon a Turkish sixteenth-seventeenth-century rug of large size, which supplies the "bird" motif in the arabesque stage, used between larger motifs. This rug featured in the sale of Spanish and Oriental rugs from the Mizner and Berberian collections, held at the American Art Association on November 8, 1924.<sup>2</sup> It measures nineteen feet by eleven feet, six inches, and, though much coarser, is of the same type of design as three rugs in the Ballard collection, at the Metropolitan Museum.<sup>3</sup> The "bird" motif measures about one foot and a half in its extreme length. It shows two distinct arabesque leaves, running and turned in opposite directions, of light tan color enclosing a black cartouche. This black center contains two serrated leaves, also pale tan. The entire motif stands out very distinctly as a decorative unit against the neutral field of the rug (see Fig. 9).

The border of the "bird" rug belonging to P. W. French and Co. and that of the "bird" rug belonging to Dr. Bode form other interesting examples of the evolution of design. These two rugs depart from the more common "bird" rug border of conventionalized Chinese cloud bands and show a border of reciprocal triangles dividing the background into a bold zigzag. This border occurs also on rugs of the "three-globe" pattern, which are closely related to the "bird" group; and it appears in the eighteenth century on the so-called "Kis" Giordes rugs (Fig. 14).

Mr. Tattersall explains the origin of this border of reciprocal triangles as follows: "In the Ushak type of carpet, as the medallions in the field became multiplied, it was found necessary to maintain the balance of the latter by introducing portions of medallions often roughly triangular in shape, and naturally these fell near the border. From this, it was not a long step to place a succession of these shapes in the border and thus form a wavy line of plain ground." A different explanation of the evolution suggests itself to me. The border of the French and Bode "bird" rugs is merely a modification of an age-old design. It is developed from that simplest of border patterns—the undulated vine. In the first stage of the evolution, flowers are attached to the sinuosities of the vine. Next, the stem section between two flowers is transformed into a bold cyma or S curve. Since the S-shaped curves represent stems coming from right and left to support the flower, the unit of design is usually a flower with symmetrical S curves on either side (the "double S" design; see Figs. 11, 12, 15, 16, 18-21). In rarer cases the S curves all follow the same direction, connecting one flower with another, and the unit of design is asymmetrical, consisting of a flower and a single S (the "single S" design; see Fig. 13). These abstract curves may be interpreted as arabesques or as serrated leaves. They may be rendered in smooth, fluid lines or transformed into severe angularity. Such variations are child's play to the Oriental designer, who knows well his grammar of ornament and has rare skill

<sup>1</sup>Alexander Raymund, *Altuerkische Keramik*, Munich, 1922, pl. 21.

<sup>2</sup>No. 128 of the catalogue.

<sup>3</sup>Breck and Morris, *op. cit.*, nos. 19, 20, and 21.



FIG. 14—NEW YORK, METROPOLITAN MUSEUM: "KIS" GORDES RUG

PLATE LXXVII



FIG. 15—NEW YORK, P. W. FRENCH & CO.: "DOUBLE S" BORDER OF A XVII-CENTURY TURKISH "BIRD" RUG



FIG. 18—NEW YORK, METROPOLITAN MUSEUM: BORDER OF AN XVIII-XIX-CENTURY YOMUD RUG



FIG. 19—NEW YORK, METROPOLITAN MUSEUM: BORDER OF AN XVIII-XIX-CENTURY YOMUD RUG

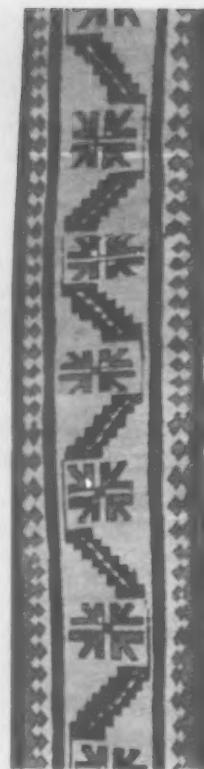


FIG. 20—NEW YORK, METROPOLITAN MUSEUM: BORDER OF AN XVIII-XIX-CENTURY KAZAK RUG



FIG. 17—NEW YORK, METROPOLITAN MUSEUM: STRIP FROM CENTER FIELD OF A KUDA RUG

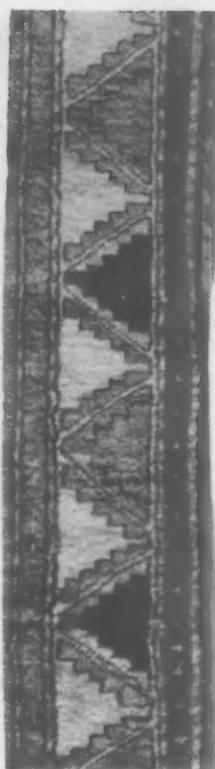


FIG. 21—NEW YORK, METROPOLITAN MUSEUM: BORDER OF A XIX-CENTURY KAZAK RUG



FIG. 16—NEW YORK, METROPOLITAN MUSEUM: BORDER OF AN XVIII-CENTURY TURKISH "KIS" GIRDLES RUG

to simplify designs at the dictates of economy or to modify them to the uses of a special technique, such as that of weaving or of rug knotting.

The "double S" border appears in broad arabesques (Fig. 10) in a Herat rug of the Vienna Museum;<sup>1</sup> in an animal rug (Fig. 11) formerly in the Yerkes collection,<sup>2</sup> and now in the Metropolitan Museum; in a silk tapestry rug of the Doistea collection, now in the Louvre; and in a silk rug of the Poldi-Pezzoli Museum. The same border is found in very richly scrolled arabesques on a sixteenth-century blue-and-white Kutahia plate reproduced by Migeon.<sup>3</sup> In a rug of northwestern Persia formerly in the Bevan collection<sup>4</sup> the *motif* is interpreted in serrated leaves alternating with rosette flowers. In fragments of an Armenian rug (Fig. 12) in the Bode and Williams collections<sup>5</sup> it appears in exact translation from undulated curves into rigid geometric forms. The same border of angular, serrated leaves may be seen on a Persian rug published by Clarke;<sup>6</sup> while a slightly varied design, in which the leaves follow one direction (the "single S" pattern), comes to light on an "Armenian" rug in the South Kensington Museum<sup>7</sup> and on a rug in the Ballard collection (Fig. 13).<sup>8</sup> Finally, a *motif* based on exactly the same foundation as that of the Bode and Williams fragments, but broadened and almost deprived of its plant character, becomes one of the standard *motifs* of Asia Minor rug borders, particularly those of nomad rugs, and also of later Caucasian and western Turkestan borders. In these rugs the zigzag formed by the arabesque leaves becomes gradually more and more geometrized until the floral character is entirely lost. Such rugs as the Ballard Yomud rugs (Figs. 18 and 19)<sup>9</sup> and Kazak rugs (Figs. 20 and 21)<sup>10</sup> show the final degeneration of the pattern. It would be strange if the border of the "bird" rugs, with its zigzag and its alternating flowers, had been constructed by using the tips of Ushak medallions (which happen also to contain flowers) when a zigzag border with alternating flowers based on an arabesque original was a current *motif*. The variations on the theme of this "bird" rug border that one finds in rugs of the seventeenth to the nineteenth century, from Asia Minor to Turkestan, all prove both its arabesque origin and its popularity.

This derivation of the "bird" *motif* and the zigzag border from curved arabesque *motifs* illustrates the adaptation of "artist-created" patterns to commercial or popular use. Practically all "primitive," "abstract," and "geometric" design, whether with figural or with ornamental plant *motifs*, can be traced back to a naturalistic or "artist-created" origin. *Naïveté*, alas! proves again to be the daughter of sophistication.

<sup>1</sup>Bode and Kuehnel, *op. cit.*, fig. 22.

<sup>2</sup>No. 204.

<sup>3</sup>Migeon, *Manuel d'art musulman*, fig. 255.

<sup>4</sup>No. 09 in the catalogue of the sale.

<sup>5</sup>Bode and Kuehnel, *op. cit.*, fig. 57.

<sup>6</sup>Vienna I. R. Austrian Commercial Museum,

*Oriental Carpets*, edited by Sir Caspar Purdon Clarke  
pl. XLV.

<sup>7</sup>No. 170.

<sup>8</sup>Breck and Morris, *op. cit.*, no. 16.

<sup>9</sup>*Ibid.*, nos. 108 and 109.

<sup>10</sup>*Ibid.*, nos. 99 and 100.

## A Lost Cartoon for Leonardo's Madonna with St. Anne<sup>1</sup>

BY JOHN SHAPLEY

That America will ever have any large share in the material heritage left by Leonardo is doubtful. But the world shares in common the vast intellectual inheritance, the right to which must be vindicated through the study and publication of the things Leonardo left behind him. The present paper is an attempt to lay claim to an item of this inheritance, a lost composition for his Madonna with St. Anne.

Leonardo's life and activity were so complicated that scarcely a problem in regard to them has lent itself to clear and final solution. Frequently the wealth of information preserved in his manuscripts and drawings seems to confuse rather than enlighten modern scholarship. The difficulty is that the student of Leonardo has to deal not merely with things—drawings, paintings—but also, and primarily, with ideas: the former are tangible, the latter intangible and fluctuating. The St. Anne Madonna of Leonardo means more than a picture, a cartoon, a series of drawings; it means a theme perennial upon which Leonardo recurrently focused his untiring imagination.

There is abundant material for the study of the Madonna with St. Anne. First in chronological order comes heralded by preparatory drawings, of which the Metropolitan Museum claims an example,<sup>2</sup> the London cartoon (Fig. 1):<sup>3</sup> all agree as to its authenticity and most agree as to its representing an early stage in Leonardo's development of the theme. Second follows the description by Fra Pietro Nuvolaria<sup>4</sup> of the famous cartoon of 1501 for the Servi, now lost. Third is the familiar painting in the Louvre (Fig. 2), late in date and largely executed by assistants.<sup>5</sup> Even with these milestones the way to a clear understanding of the evolution of the theme has not been found. The confusion is due, I think, to the failure to appreciate the complete dissimilarity of the compositions known to us from these three sources. It is my purpose to show that the description of Nuvolaria indicates a composition utterly different from the London cartoon or the Louvre painting. So divergent are the cartoon, description, and picture that the only reasonable explanation seems to be to regard them as representative of three distinct Madonnas.

No paper on Renaissance painting would be complete without blaming Vasari (to whom we owe so much for the general truth of his biographies, and even for his often illu-

<sup>1</sup>This paper was inspired by Professor Frank Jewett Mather, Jr., of Princeton University, whom I wish to thank for his helpful suggestions.

<sup>2</sup>Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, XIV, 1919, p. 137. Cf. *ibid.*, XIII, 1918, pp. 214-217 for two sheets of drawings by Leonardo in the same collection.

<sup>3</sup>First carefully studied by Alfred Marks (*Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, June 28, 1882).

<sup>4</sup>In a letter of his correspondence with Isabella d'Este, first published by Luzio (*I precettori d'Isabella d'Este*, p. 32, n. 1) in 1887, reprinted in *Archivio Storico d'Arte* (I, 1888, p. 46). It is conveniently accessible in the original Italian in some of the monographs on Leonardo, such as that of Solmi. Inaccurate translations, such as that of Yriarte (*Gazette des beaux arts*, 2nd series, XXXVII, 1888, pp. 123ff.), have unfortunately crept into the literature. Nuvolaria does not say that the cartoon was being made for the Servites: that we learn from Vasari, ed. Sansoni, IV, p. 38 f.; cf. also III, pp. 475 and 585.

<sup>5</sup>For the present purpose it is enough to give only the general view. Particulars concerning its workmanship are discussed by Seidlitz, *Leonardo da Vinci*, II, p. 27, who cites the literature. Most critics agree with Gruyer (*Gazette des beaux arts*, 2nd series, XXXVI, 1887, pp. 98ff.) that the painting was done during the second Milanese period, 1507-1512. But the view expressed by Cook in an article in the *Gazette des beaux arts*, 3rd series, XVIII, 1897, pp. 371-389, that the picture was not painted until 1516, after Leonardo had gone to France, may be mentioned. Springer's view (*Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, 1889, pp. 141ff., concurred in by Rosenberg, *Leonardo da Vinci*, p. 89) that the London cartoon was for a later, modified, Milanese version of the Louvre picture is generally rejected. Two cartoons by imitators of Leonardo repeat the composition of the Louvre picture, one formerly in the Esterhazy collection, the other in the Turin gallery. There is a fragment of a Leonardesque cartoon (head of the Virgin) in the Mond collection.

PLATE LXXVIII



FIG. 2—PARIS, LOUVRE: MADONNA WITH ST. ANNE, BY LEONARDO  
FIG. 1—LONDON, ROYAL ACADEMY: CARTOON OF THE MADONNA WITH ST. ANNE, BY LEONARDO



PLATE LXXIX



FIG. 4—Formerly in the Collection of Lord Battersea, London:  
Madonna, by a Follower of Leonardo

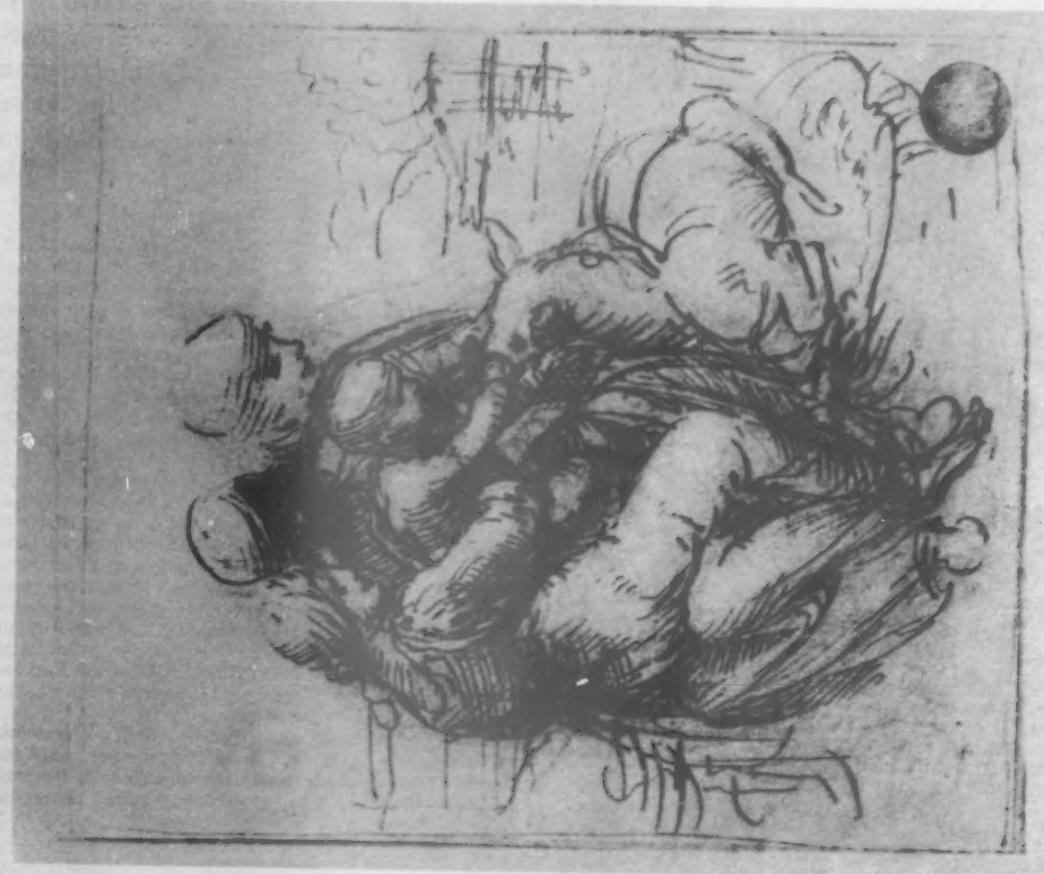


FIG. 8—VENICE, ACADEMY: Pen Drawing of the Madonna with St. Anne,  
by Leonardo

minating errors, which we have the pleasure of correcting, or, at least, condemning). In the case of the St. Anne Madonna Vasari went astray in combining elements from different compositions, St. John and the lamb, in the same composition, but it is always possible that he had some Leonardesque painting in mind. The earliest biographies, such as Vasari could draw upon, the *Libro d'Antonio Billi*, the *Anonimo Gaddiano*, and the writings of Paulus Jovius do not offer the slightest suggestion of more than one composition for this Madonna.<sup>1</sup> The first direct statement that Leonardo made more than one appears in a letter of the collector Sebastiano Resta (d. 1696). He wrote that there were three cartoons by Leonardo. In the enthusiasm of ownership, which we forgive in a contemporary but not in a predecessor, he looked upon the Esterhazy cartoon as one of these, and he made so many other blunders that his testimony is of no weight.<sup>2</sup>

With the gradual appreciation of the London cartoon came inevitably the consciousness that it was not to be connected with the Louvre painting. Its full importance as an independent work was firmly established and its history carefully worked out by Marks.

When the letter of Nuvolaria was published it seemed necessary merely to assimilate his description to one of the compositions already known. He mentions a lamb but no infant St. John. Hence, his description could not apply to the London cartoon. Accordingly, Yriarte<sup>3</sup> came out immediately with the announcement that we could not fail to recognize in Nuvolaria's letter the composition of the Louvre picture. This opinion was repeated in periodical articles by Springer, Müntz, and Marks.<sup>4</sup> It passed then into the numerous monographs, such as those of Horne, Rosenberg, Seailles, Solmi, etc., as accepted matter of fact.<sup>5</sup> Cook zealously used Nuvolaria's description as proof of the existence of a cartoon for the Louvre picture and even attempted to trace the later history of the cartoon.<sup>6</sup> Müntz, however, became less certain in his book on Leonardo. He still regarded the cartoon described by Nuvolaria as having a composition identical with that of the Louvre painting, but he noted, without offering any explanation, that the St. Anne herself looks on tranquilly in the actual picture instead of trying to prevent the intervention of her daughter as in Nuvolaria's account.<sup>7</sup> McCurdy, following this lead, took the letter as describing "a cartoon corresponding to the Louvre picture in all essential details in

<sup>1</sup>Codex Magliabechiano, XIII, 89, the so-called Codice Petrei, ed. Fabriczy (*Archivio Storico Italiano*, 5th series, VII, p. 331) copying the lost *Libro d'Antonio Billi*: "Fecie infiniti disegni maravigliosi, et fa l'altre [sic] una Nostra Donna et s.<sup>ta</sup> Anna che andò in Francia." Codex Magliabechiano, XVII, 17, the so-called *Anonimo Gaddiano*, ed. Fabriczy (*Archivio Storico Italiano*, 5th series, XII, pp. 89ff.): "Fecie infiniti disegni, cose maravigliose, et infra li altri una Nostra Donna, et una santa Anna ch'andò in Francia." Paulus Jovius in Bossi (*Del Cenacolo di Leonardo da Vinci*, p. 20): "Exalt et infans Christus in tabula cum matre Virgine Annaque aria colludens, quam Franciscus rex Galliae coemptam in Sacario collocavit." (The last is also found in Tiraboschi, *Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, VII, pt. 4, p. 2495.)

<sup>2</sup>Bottari, *Raccolta di Lettere Pittoriche*, III, p. 326. For the ownership of this cartoon by Resta see Marks' article in the *Athenaeum*, no. 3365, April 23, 1892. For its attribution cf. Cook, *op. cit.*, pp. 383ff.

<sup>3</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>4</sup>Springer, *loc. cit.* Müntz, *Chronique des arts*, Dec. 5, 1891; *Athenaeum*, no. 3369, May 21, 1892. Marks, *Athenaeum*, *loc. cit.*; *Magazine of Art*, April, 1893, where he seems inclined to accept incorrectly the Esterhazy cartoon as a true work of Leonardo.

<sup>5</sup>Horne, *The Life of Leonardo da Vinci* by Giorgio Vasari, p. 33. Rosenberg, *op. cit.*, p. 85. Seailles, *Leonardo da Vinci, l'artiste et le savant*, pp. 110ff. Solmi,

Leonardo, *ital. ed.*, p. 130. Sirén, *Leonardo da Vinci, the Artist and the Man*, contradicts himself. On page 130 he gives an inaccurate translation of Nuvolaria's letter and adds: "From this description it is manifest that the composition of the much-admired cartoon was identical with that of the well-known picture in the Louvre (and not with the cartoon in the Royal Academy of London)." Four pages further on he writes (p. 134): "The famous Florentine cartoon, as we have said, exhibited considerable divergences from the composition of the Louvre picture."

<sup>6</sup>Cook, *op. cit.*, pp. 382ff. The existence of a cartoon follows without necessity of proof from the atelier methods then employed, of which we have so frequent notice in the case of Leonardo himself. Such a cartoon would, however, be ruined by pricking when the composition was transferred to canvas—an immediate and obvious reason why we do not have more cartoons of executed works. The notices which Cook collects for the later history of the cartoon fit equally well the Turin or Esterhazy or any other imitation, or even the London cartoon itself, to which, in fact, Lomazzo's notice has been taken to apply.

<sup>7</sup>Müntz, *Leonardo da Vinci*, p. 386: "Ces traits s'appliquent de tout point à l'ébauche du Louvre, sauf que dans celle-ci sainte Anne regarde tranquillement les jeux de son petit-fils, un poing appuyé sur la hanche, au lieu de chercher à s'opposer à l'intervention de sa fille."

which it differs from the Academy Cartoon, except in the expression of St. Anne."<sup>1</sup> Seidlitz made the selfsame exception and added that it was readily to be explained through a "Sehfehler."<sup>2</sup> This disagreement between picture and description as to the expression of St. Anne is, however, but one of many points of disagreement. A closer comparison of the description with the picture shows that the two are utterly different and that the description can no more be applied to the Louvre painting than to the London cartoon. Let us examine Nuvolaria's letter with a reproduction of the picture before us. I refer the critical reader to the original Italian text, given in a footnote,<sup>3</sup> and offer here a translation:

Most Distinguished and Excellent Lady, etc. I have just got Your Excellency's letter and I shall do what you write me with all speed and care; but as far as I can make out, Leonardo's habits are unsteady and very irregular, so that he seems to live each day for itself. Since he has been at Florence he has done only a sketch on a cartoon, which represents a Christ Child about a year old who, as if about to slip out of his mother's arms, grasps a lamb and seems to hold it fast. The mother, as if about to rise from the lap of St. Anne, grasps the Child to take him from the lambkin (sacrificial animal) which signifies the Passion. St. Anne, rising a little from her seat, seems to want to keep her daughter from taking the Child from the lambkin: this would perhaps stand for the Church that does not want to have the Passion of Christ hindered. And these figures are life-size, though on a little cartoon, for all are in a sitting or bent position, and one is a little in front of the other toward the left hand; and this sketch is not yet finished. He has done nothing else, except that a couple of his boys are making portraits and he helps on one occasionally; he works hard at geometry, but he is most impatient with the brush. I write this just for Your Excellency to know that I have got your letters. I shall go ahead and soon send word to Your Excellency, to whom I commend myself, and I pray God to conserve you in His grace.

Florence, April 3, 1501.

Your Most Obedient Servant,

Fra Pietro Nuvolaria,  
Vicar General of the Carmelites.

One can hardly overstate the value of this letter as evidence. A few days before, on March 27, 1501, Isabella d'Este had written to Nuvolaria, who was acting as her agent in Florence, in reference to obtaining works by Leonardo. Unquestionably, Nuvolaria made an investigation in person to learn what Leonardo was about. His description was written in prompt reply to Isabella's letter and under the immediate first-hand impression of Leonardo's cartoon.

<sup>1</sup> McCurdy, *Leonardo da Vinci*, p. 119.

<sup>2</sup> Seidlitz, *op. cit.*, II, p. 21.

<sup>3</sup> "Ill.ma et Ex.ma D.ma etc. Hora ho havuta una di V. Ex. et farò cum omni celerità et diligencia quanto quella me scrive; ma per quanto me occorre la vita di Leonardo è varia et indeterminata forte, si che pare vivere a giornata. Ha fatto solo dopo che è ad Firenzi uno schizzo in uno cartone, finge uno Christo bambino de età cerca uno anno che uscendo quasi de bracci ad la mamma piglia uno agnello et pare che lo stringa. La mamma quasi levandose de grembo ad S.ta Anna piglia el bambino per spiccarlo da lo agnellino (animale immolabile) che significa la Passione. Santa Anna alquanto levandose da sedere pare che voglia ritenere la figliola che non spicca el bambino da lo agnellino, che forsi vole figurare la Chiesa che non

vorrebbe farsi impedita la passione di Christo. Et sono queste figure grande al naturale, ma stano in picolo cartone, perchè tutte o sedeno o stano curve, et una stae alquanto dinanzi ad l'altra verso la man sinistra; et questo schizzo ancora non è finito. Altro non ha fatto, se non che due suoi garzoni fano retrati et lui a le volte in alcuno nelle mani; dà opera forte ad la geometria, impacientissimo al pennello. Questo scrivo solo perchè V. Ex. sapia ch'io ho havute le sue. Farò l'opera et presto darò avviso ad V. Ex. ad la quale mi raccomando et prego Dio la conservi in sua gratia.

Florence 3 aprilis MDI.

Serv. Obs.

Fr. PETRUS NUVOLARIE

Carm. Vic. Gen.

To the Louvre picture, however, the nonconformity of the description is obvious. In the picture the Child has virtually gained His freedom and is not, as Nuvolaria writes, "as if about to slip out of the mother's arms." Nor is the mother "as if about to rise from the lap of St. Anne." Her feet are too far forward for that: she is bending down rather than getting up. Meanwhile, St. Anne smiles complacently and makes no sign. There is nothing about the composition in the Louvre to make one say, as Nuvolaria does, that "St. Anne, rising a little from her seat, seems to want to keep her daughter from taking the Child from the lambkin." Nuvolaria's statement that "one is a little in front of the other toward the left hand" would seem to be ambiguous enough to apply to any composition, since it is not specified whether the spectator's left or the pictorial left is meant. As a matter of fact, in the Louvre picture neither point of view is applicable: the Madonna is so placed in front of the St. Anne that the relation of right and left does not come into play.

Since the cartoon of 1501, as represented by the description of Nuvolaria, cannot be brought into correspondence with either of the developed compositions, in London and Paris, our next duty is to try to reconstruct it from Leonardo's drawings. Besides the London cartoon and the Louvre picture and the drawings that enter into closest connection with them, there are three other rather definitive drawings that critics have cited as trials by Leonardo for the Madonna with St. Anne. One is a little silver point study at Oxford. That it has anything to do with the subject of the present study is doubtful. Another is in the His de la Salle collection in the Louvre. It is certainly a St. Anne Madonna but too much worked over to permit of safe deductions. Neither of these drawings has the lamb. Consequently, they need not detain us. The third is a pen drawing in the Venice Academy (Fig. 3.)

This drawing at Venice corresponds at every point with the description of Nuvolaria. The uppermost head, somewhat more dimly sketched in (with different ink) at the right of the St. Anne, is not a part of the composition and should be thought away.<sup>1</sup> To describe the remaining figures is merely to repeat the words of Nuvolaria's letter. The sketch "represents," to quote, "a Christ Child about a year old who, as if about to slip out of the mother's arms, grasps a lamb and seems to hold it fast." The Child is eagerly leaning forward and has grasped the nose of the animal, which turns its head to one side to free itself. Again, "the mother, as if about to rise from the lap of St. Anne, grasps the Child to take Him from the lambkin." In swinging back her right leg until the foot touches the ground the Madonna shows a movement preparatory to rising. At the same moment she leans backward to draw the Child away from His play. Further, "St. Anne, rising a little from her seat, seems to want to keep her daughter from taking the Child from the lambkin." St. Anne is seen leaning forward momentarily between the Madonna and the Child, just as one does before rising from a sitting posture. Her right arm, around the Madonna's waist, would restrain the latter in that backward movement. Significantly she draws the sacrificial animal near the Christ, putting her left arm about its fleecy neck. Here it is true that "one is a little in front of the other toward the left hand." As is most natural and usual, it is toward the spectator's left.

There is other, quite independent evidence that led Bossi,<sup>2</sup> more than a century ago, and without knowledge of Nuvolaria's letter, to anticipate my conclusions and to connect

<sup>1</sup> McCurdy's suggestion (*op. cit.*, pp. 117f.) that the superfluous head is a recasting of the position of the Virgin, bending further forward in a stage leading up to the Louvre picture, is inconsistent with the height of

the head in the composition. The careful shading of the other figures shows that they represent Leonardo's final decision.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 231ff.

the drawing of the Venice Academy, rather than the picture of the Louvre, with the cartoon made for the Servites in 1501. Bossi reprinted the following sonnet of a second-rate poet, Girolamo Casio, a somewhat younger contemporary of Leonardo.<sup>1</sup> Again, I give the original Italian text in a footnote<sup>2</sup> and offer here a translation:

To the St. Anne L. Vinci is painting, that holds in her arms Mary the Virgin,  
who does not want her Son to get down on the lamb.

*Ecce Agnus Dei, said John,*  
Who entered and came forth from the womb of Mary  
Merely to guide with His holy life  
Our feet also to the seats celestial.  
Of the immaculate Lamb He would lay hold and He cries  
To make of Himself a sacrifice for the world.  
His mother holds Him back for she does not wish  
To see her Son's destruction and her own.  
St. Anne, as if she were one who knew  
That Jesus was clad with our human shape  
To wipe out the sin of Adam and Eve,  
Tells her daughter with pious zeal  
To drive away her far from happy thought,  
For His immolation is ordained by Heaven.

Bossi recognized immediately that the motive of the Madonna wishing to prevent the Child from the symbol of His Passion and the St. Anne opposing her in this could be seen in the Venice drawing but not in the Louvre picture. He attributed correctly the divergence of the compositions to Leonardo's versatility, writing: "Indeed, with his continual search after something new, after he had made probably from the sketch which we reproduce [the Venice drawing] the first cartoon [that in London is really earlier but Bossi did not know it] which caused all Florence to marvel, he tried another along the same lines (which served later for the work of Salaino and for his own at Paris) in which he meant to express a moment later than that conceived in the first composition."<sup>3</sup> Of the validity of Bossi's argument that Casio was too indifferent a poet to have invented the allegorical idea, which Leonardo so beautifully embodied, the poem given is abundant proof. The letter of Nuvolaria already discussed offers an interpretation substantially in agreement with Casio's. This type of allegory was much in Leonardo's mind at the time as it appears again in an

<sup>1</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 262, n. 45, drawing from Girolamo Casio's *Libro de' Fasti*, p. 70. Along with the letter of Nuvolaria the title of the sonnet has been regularly used as contemporary matter illustrative of the Louvre composition. Even in the title, however, "non volea" is applicable only to the composition seen in the Venice study as is also "in brazzo" if the latter is taken literally. The sonnet itself has hitherto been neglected, although it confirms Nuvolaria's observation of the intervention of St. Anne. The "Sehfehler" hypothesis of Seidlitz can better be applied to the art historians than to Nuvolaria.

<sup>2</sup>Per S. Anna che dipinse L. Vinci, che tenea la M. V. in brazzo, che non volea il figlio scendesse sopra un Agnello.

*Ecce Agnus Dei, disse Giovanni  
Che entrò e uscì nel ventre di Maria  
Sol per drizzar con la sua santa via  
E nostri piedi a gli celesti scanni.  
De immaculato Agnel ruol tuore e panni  
Per far al mondo di se beccaria*

*La madre lo ritien che non voria  
Veder del figlio e di se stessa i danni.  
Santa Anna come quella che sapeva  
Giesù vestir de l'human nostro velo  
Per cancellar il fal di Adam e di Eva.  
Dice a sua figlia con pietoso zelo  
Di retirarlo il pensier tuo ne lieva,  
Che gli è ordinato il suo immolar dal Cielo.*

<sup>3</sup>*Op. cit.*, p. 233. Bossi suggests that this alteration of the motive of the composition might have been due to Leonardo's feeling that the Madonna, so near divinity herself, would be inappropriately represented as resisting the Will of Heaven and trying to prevent, in symbol, at least, her Son's sacrifice for the redemption of the world. In the Louvre picture he sees the St. Anne content that the divine mission of her Seed is to be fulfilled, the Virgin acquiescent but with a look of sadness about her full eyes, the Son turning toward His mother half in joy at His triumph, half in consolation for her sorrow. This all sounds like a sermon.

entirely different work. In another letter of Nuvolaria to Isabella,<sup>1</sup> written April 4, 1501, a day later than the one above, the agent, in his report on Leonardo, describes a picture "that he is doing for a certain Robertet, a favorite of the King of France," in the following paragraph:

The little picture which he is doing is a Madonna sitting as if she were going to wind yarn; and the Child, putting His foot in the basket of yarn, has taken the reel and gazes intently at those four rays, which are in the form of a cross, and, as if He were desirous of this cross, He laughs and holds it tight, not willing to give it up to His mother, who seems to want to take it from Him.<sup>2</sup>

More than half a dozen school pieces, of which the Lord Battersea Madonna (Fig. 4) is an example, are based on this lost composition of Leonardo, for which there is a drawing in the Uffizi.<sup>3</sup> The eager action and intense expression of the Child, and the consternation of the mother render the symbolic meaning of the picture unquestionable. In the Madonna with St. Anne, as that subject was conceived in the lost cartoon of 1501, the very same motive of Christ seizing the emblem of His Passion against the will of His mother was employed in the more highly developed form described by Nuvolaria and Casio and foreshadowed in the Venice drawing.

Knowledge of the existence of a third composition for the Madonna with St. Anne makes it easy to clear up various points that have remained hitherto inexplicable.

The frame for the altarpiece of the Servites was commissioned beforehand, September 15, 1500. The disagreement of its dimensions with those of the Louvre picture<sup>4</sup> has therefore been annoying. The frame was made about a yard and a half too high and a yard too wide. The discrepancy is immediately explained when we find that it was not that of the Louvre but another composition which was intended for the altar of the Servites.

Writing a century before the absolutely known date when the Louvre painting came to France, Jovius, a primary and well-informed source, bluntly recorded that the Madonna with St. Anne had been bought by the king of France and placed in his chapel.<sup>5</sup> His words, too, "*avia colludens*," that is, "the grandmother taking part in the play," exclude the Louvre composition and indicate that of the lost cartoon. Likewise, the expression of another contemporary, Antonio de' Beati,<sup>6</sup> "one [picture by Leonardo] of the Madonna and of the Son that are in the lap of St. Anne," shows by the plural of the verb that both figures were in St. Anne's lap and by the word order doubly excludes the independent Child of the Louvre composition. Given our third composition for the St. Anne Madonna, the statements of these writers become perfectly intelligible.

As to the details of the lost cartoon fuller information could be wished. For visualizing its essentials, however, the above notices give a sound basis, especially since they are supplemented with the Venice drawing. This drawing is as carefully worked out as the British Museum drawing, which, except for the position of the St. Anne's left hand, accurately foreshadows the London cartoon. It is fair to conclude, therefore, that the

<sup>1</sup>Calvi, *Notizie dei Principali Professori di Belle Arti*, pt. III, p. 98. The passage is readily accessible in Solmi, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

<sup>2</sup>"*Il quadrettino che fa è una Madonna, che siede, come se volesse innaspare fusi, e il Bambino, posto il piede nel canestino dei fusi, ha preso l'aso, e mira attentamente quei quattro raggi, che sono in forma di croce, e come desideroso di essa croce ride, e tienla salda, non la volendo cedere alla mamma, che pare gliela voglia torre.*"

<sup>3</sup>The composition was widely diffused and appears

even in Spain (S. Reinach, in the *Art Journal*, Jan., 1912).  
<sup>4</sup>Pointed out by Horne in the *Architectural Review*, July, 1902, pp. 31ff.

<sup>5</sup>The passage has already been given in a footnote, p. 97, n. 1.

<sup>6</sup>*Die Reise des Kardinals Luigi d'Aragon*, ed. Pastor, in *Erläuterungen und Ergänzungen zu Janssens Geschichte des deutschen Volkes*, IV, pt. 4, p. 143: "uno de la Madonna et del figliolo che stan posti in grembo de sancta Anna."

Venice drawing represents its lost cartoon just as closely. That is to say, it gives the positions and relationships of the figures. Its agreement with the literary documents is, of course, agreement with the cartoon itself. The drawing has certain indications that the artist had reached a definitive conception of his theme. The lighting and modelling are represented with greatest pains. Leonardo has even taken the trouble to show a bit of his characteristic watery landscape beyond which are trees and distant hills. Even more important, though it is not always clear in the reproductions, is the fact that the drawing has its framing lines marked off around it. Nothing remains to be done but to increase the scale.

The cartoon of 1501 was one of the earliest and most important pronouncements of the High Renaissance. To Raphael it meant space composition, that is, the careful construction of an architectonic, preferably pyramidal, composition in which the dimension of depth also counts. That many of Raphael's Madonnas show this Leonardesque influence is a commonplace. To Michelangelo it meant figures of large size and vigorous complex movements compressed into a restricted picture surface. The Doni Madonna was the immediate result, but in less transparent form the characteristics remain in Michelangelo's later works. It is worth noting that Nuvolaria saw both what Raphael saw, the figures one in front of the other, and what Michelangelo saw, their large size on a small cartoon.

In spite of the significance of the cartoon, its beauty, its admirers, that it should disappear without a trace is not hard to understand. Save for the part that was painted on the wall, the important and famous cartoon for the Battle of Anghiari entirely disappeared, and the Bathing Soldiers of Michelangelo are preserved only in inferior reproductions. A strict parallel to the lost cartoon is the one preserved in London. Of this admirable work there were very few imitations. Luini, as its owner, an artist himself, and a disciple of Leonardo, made use of it, converting it into a Holy Family, now in the Ambrosiana; and there is a wretched painting based on it in a private Genoese collection.<sup>1</sup> The fact is that, even when not damaged by pricking, cartoons have little or no appeal to collectors. They are not decorative enough to be hung on the wall. They are too large to be stowed away in portfolios. There could have been little interest felt when the London cartoon reached the Royal Academy, for there is no contemporary notice, though the event took place in art-loving and Italianizing eighteenth-century England. In less intelligent, one can hardly say less appreciative, hands, it is not strange that a fading cartoon should have been discarded.

With Leonardo, however, as I have said, it is not a question of things but of ideas. Like Leonardo's domed buildings (one of his ground plans is used as the cover design of this magazine), which were not built, but which were none the less the progenitors of numerous buildings and cardinal examples of Renaissance architecture, Leonardo's St. Anne Madonna of 1501 for the altar of the Servites of Florence, which was not painted, inaugurates the sixteenth century and the new era.

<sup>1</sup>Pettorelli, *Rassegna d'Arte Antica e Moderna*, VII, 1920, pp. 197ff.

## REVIEWS

SAPPHO AND HER INFLUENCE. BY DAVID M. ROBINSON. "OUR DEBT TO GREECE AND ROME" SERIES, VOL. 2. XII,  
272 PP.; 24 PLS. BOSTON, MARSHALL JONES CO., 1924. \$1.50.

Before entering upon a formal review of this book, it may not be inopportune to explain, for the benefit of those members of the College Art Association who are not classicists by training or association, the purpose of the series to which the book belongs. The propaganda against the Classics neither slumbers nor sleeps. Up to recent years the lovers of Greek and Latin had contented themselves with a purely defensive position; but lately, realizing that often the best defence is counter-attack, their tactics have changed. In 1920 a group of lovers of the "humanities," largely recruited in Philadelphia, financed the publication of a series of fifty small books convenient in size and low in price and written in a style that should reach all sorts of men and women, in which the contribution of the civilizations of Greece and Rome to all branches of modern life should be aggressively and concisely stated. The editing of the series was entrusted to Professors G. D. Hadzsits of the University of Pennsylvania and D. M. Robinson of Johns Hopkins University, each of whom was also to write one of the volumes. These editors selected as the other contributing authors scholars of the greatest prominence both in this country and abroad, who were to write on their especial fields. The series has not yet been completed, but more than twenty of the volumes have appeared; the general standard is high, and the sales have surpassed all expectation.

Professor Robinson, the author of the volume under discussion here, needs no introduction to the members of this association. For several years he was its president; to the advancement of its interests he gave liberally of his time and strength; and under his administration *The Art Bulletin* was established as a quarterly. The wideness of his sympathies and the thoroughness of his scholarship are too well known to our readers to be enlarged upon, and his genial and winning personality needs no comment. In view of all that he has done for our association, it is eminently fitting that this book, although not strictly an art publication, should be reviewed in these pages.

From the beginning of his career, Sappho has exercised a powerful fascination for Professor Robinson, and he has for many years made a specialty of the study of her life, her work, and her influence on her contemporaries and on posterity. It was natural, therefore, that he should select her as the subject of the book that he was to contribute to the series. That he has not wasted his time is evidenced by the astonishing fund of information upon which he has drawn in the composition of the book.

The first impression that strikes the careful reader is one of amazement and admiration. Every page bears witness to an unrivalled command of the enormous literature that is either directly concerned with Sappho, or that owes its inspiration to her poems. How enormous this literature is will doubtless come as a surprise to the scholar as well as to the uninitiated. For the inquiring mind, the sources for the information in the text are given in the twenty-two pages of notes at the end; and it is from a study of these notes that an estimate of the labor involved in the preparation of the book, and a true appreciation of the writer's learning and thoroughness may be obtained.

In a sense, the book may be said to have the defects of its qualities. Sometimes, and especially in the chapters devoted to the influence of Sappho in later times, the style tends

to become, owing to the enormous amount of material, rather that of a catalogue than of an essay; but it is hard to see how this could have been avoided if Professor Robinson was to insert all that should be included in such a study. That he is an enthusiast, however, and the possessor of a good clear English style is abundantly proven by the opening chapters, and especially by the epilogue, where his enthusiasm and devotion to the poetry and character of Sappho lead him to write in a manner almost inspired. Nor should we forget his own excellent verse renderings of some of the poems and fragments, which he inserts from time to time with a modest word of apology, and which very closely catch the spirit of the original, although, as he truly says, it is impossible for any translator entirely to do so. (These translations will be found on pp. 19-20, 41, 56, 72-73, 82-83, and 97.) Where he gives the translations, paraphrases, or adaptations of others, his instinct rarely leads him astray, with the result that the book is full of beautiful selections from poems not only in English, but in Latin, French, German, and Italian, that owe their creation, directly or indirectly, to the influence of the Lesbian poetess.

Mention has been made of Professor Robinson's admiration for the character of Sappho. This leads us to that part of the book which is most certain to provoke discussion—the defence of her virtue. A strong case is established for the chastity of her life; and there is bitter denunciation for the attacks upon her good name that have been made from antiquity down to the present day. I find myself in entire accord with Professor Robinson on this point; but it must be borne in mind that much can be said on the other side, and that the argument that only a pure woman could have produced such beautiful verse is not necessarily founded on fact. We all admire the beauty and power of *The Ballad of Reading Gaol*, for example, but we do not inquire too closely into the private morals of Oscar Wilde!

The members of this association will naturally turn to Chapter V, *Sappho in Art*. In this part of the book Professor Robinson has the opportunity of displaying his great knowledge of art and archaeology, his more especial fields. He brings together the various attributed ancient portraits, and his discussion of them is extremely sane and level-headed, particularly on the question of whether or not the so-called Maiden of Anzio may be regarded as a portrait of Sappho, in which case he gives the verdict of "not proven." The fine bust in the Borghese Palace in Rome, here published for the first time (pl. 21), finds its closest parallel in a head in the British Museum, which, curiously enough, he does not mention, but which is published in the University Prints, A394. The so-called Bust of Sappho in the hands of a dealer in New York, published several years ago, is rightly discarded, as it is almost certainly neither a portrait of Sappho, nor even ancient, but should probably be assigned to the Renaissance.

The discussion of the vase paintings is very ably handled, even if the mistake is made of calling the vase in Cracow black-figured (pl. 13). It is rather of the rare technique with opaque designs on a black ground, of which the best brief discussion in English will be found in Walters, *History of Ancient Pottery*, I, pp. 393-394, pl. XXXV. This style was contemporaneous with the "mixed technique" (black-figured and red-figured on the same vase) and is used on one signed vase by Nikosthenes, in the Louvre, and one signed vase by Andokides, in the same museum. But with the treatment of the chronology and attributions of the red-figured vases, I am in complete agreement with Professor Robinson: he is absolutely right in rejecting Nicole's absurd date for the activity of the Meidias painter (note 120), and there is no better discussion than his of the well-known Sappho vase in Munich (page 103, note 110, pl. 12).

Apparently Professor Robinson tends to disbelieve in the authenticity of the golden

bowl recently acquired by the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston (note 93). The style in which this note is written is so ambiguous that it leaves the reader in doubt as to whether it is only the inscription on the bowl, or the entire object, that he condemns as a modern forgery. That the bowl itself is ancient is usually admitted to-day; there is more doubt as to the inscription, and it will never, in all probability, be conclusively proven either genuine or spurious. I am convinced, however, that it, too, is right—the evidence seems to me to point more strongly to that conclusion—and that in this object we have, therefore, a priceless historic monument. I have reason to believe that Professor Robinson may possibly have revised his point of view since his note was written, as an opportunity has recently been afforded him to make a careful examination of the bowl.

The reader's attention has been called to these small differences of opinion between the writer and the critic, not from a spirit of fault-finding but because the book is so admirable on the whole. Many who have kept in close touch with the volumes in this series as they have appeared have expressed the sentiment that *Sappho* is the best that has as yet come out. Not having read all the other volumes, I can only say that it is a mighty monument to the loving industry and amazing scholarship of Professor Robinson, and that the other writers in the series have been set a standard that they will find hard to surpass. With champions such as these the cause of the humanities will be won, and the advocates of crass materialism, vocationalism, and Philistinism in education will find the tide of sympathy setting against them. Such books reveal in no uncertain way "Our Debt to Greece and Rome."

Stephen Bleecker Luce

THE ROMAN TOGA. BY LILLIAN M. WILSON. 132 PP., 102 ILLUSTRATIONS. BALTIMORE, THE JOHNS HOPKINS PRESS, 1924. \$5.00.

The Romans were proud of themselves as the race that wore the toga. Cincinnatus, plowing behind his oxen on his little farm, sent to the house for his toga, which he draped round himself over his tunic, before he could listen to the deputies of the senate proffer their nomination of him as dictator to save the state. It is as if a presidential candidate were about to be found milking a cow when the deputation arrived to inform him of his nomination, and as if he, suddenly realizing his unworthy dress, were to call for his dress clothes and slip them over his overalls.

The impression is widespread that a toga is something like a bed sheet. Perhaps that idea has gained ground with the spreading production of Greek and Roman plays and their pictorial representations in papers and magazines. The use of a glorified or enlarged bed sheet has been all too common. The toga is rather a blanket, and if the reserves accumulated on the sideline benches of the multitudinous college and high school gridirons wore instead of their college colored blankets ones of white or gray or brown with an occasional purplish or magenta stripe, they would look more like Romans than anyone else at the present time, except the blanket-clad American Indians at a ceremonial.

Primitive peoples in general wore as an outer garment a blanket of some sort. A rectangular cloth was the simplest shape to weave, and a blanket thus made obviously could serve many purposes. The Greek toga was a himation, but the Greeks seem not to have laid any claim on immortality by virtue of their clothes; they were much prouder of the shape of their bodies, which their clothes tended to cover, and much prouder of the language they developed, the finest the world has yet known, English being second. The Scotch toga was a tartan, but this type of toga grew into a sort of color scheme by which clans were distinguished rather than a nation individualized. The Red Indian toga was a blanket and for centuries, except that its solid colors were dark, it approached very nearly the Roman toga as a dress. To be sure, there developed a pictographic and heraldic type of Indian blanket, whereby a Siwash could be distinguished from a Navajo, but that in early days was as ceremoniously rare as it now is commercially ubiquitous.

The Roman toga grew from a personal covering into a national bulwark. Its simplicity always remained, although fashion through a thousand years dictated many a changing nicety of fold and many an intricacy of drape. The very fact that the Roman toga was the national dress of the race whose togated consuls, senators, and emperors set the imperishable seal of success upon dignified, even nonchalant, statesmanship, has not yet lost its force. Apart from its dignity, its simplicity, its implications, the Roman toga by its very unchangeableness still befits the marbled forms of European and American statesmen and worthies better than the changing styles of boots, pants, and coats.

It would seem that there should be no difficulties in describing a Roman toga. But when one looks through Roman literature, as Dr. Wilson has done, all that is said turns out to be practically valueless so far as concerns exact measurements and cut, methods of making, and technique of draping. As the author says, literary reference to the Roman toga is casual. But the hundreds of Roman statues scattered in the museums of the world wear togas for the most part, and on many a well preserved piece of bas-relief, toga-clad figures stalk or stand in Roman *dignitas*. Here would seem to be ascertainable facts from figures.

The book here under review is the first of The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Archaeology, under the editorship of Professor David M. Robinson. The acknowledgments, in the Introduction, to the personnel of museums, in themselves show that Miss Wilson has studied the statues in every museum that has togated statues of appreciable worth and number. The 102 illustrations in a book of 132 pages speak for themselves.

The author, on pages 22 and 23, states her methods of approach to the subject of the Roman toga on its technical side and the reasons behind her methods. They are certainly sound and good. She has not relied upon photographs; she has gone to hundreds of the togated statues themselves and measured and examined them. Then she has draped living models with togas of differing sizes and cuts, until the togas of her models reproduced the characteristic lines of the sculptured garments. Probably no one would have disputed an *a priori* dogmatic statement that "neither the sculptors nor the painters of antiquity were producing fashion plates," but Miss Wilson has examined so carefully the mimetic exactness of the inevitable or characteristic lines that she has also been able to distinguish the accidental and arbitrary folds of casual lines on the living model from the idealized or artistic lines on the garments of the marbled ancients. Her statement on page 25 cannot be controverted: "If a piece of drapery be placed on a human figure in the same manner as that shown on a sculptured figure, and it produces in all its parts the essential lines and folds shown on the statue, then the drapery must have practically the same size and shape as that which the sculptor used on his model."

The Roman toga is a piece of material with a longer and a shorter straight edge on the sides. The longer edge hangs over the left shoulder straight down the body in front. The upper or longer edge then comes across the back under the right armpit, across the breast, and then again over the left shoulder and down the back. The garment curves from each end of the short straight edge to a varying point on the edge of the cloth at its greatest length. The many forms of the Roman toga through the centuries of its use all depend on modifications in length and width of the cloth and the variation of curve in the cloth as it met the ends of longer or shorter straight edges on the sides.

Miss Wilson begins with the simple drapery on the bronze statue at Florence of the third century B.C., known as the Arringatore. Here she establishes by trial her unit of measurement, which is the height of her model from the floor to the base of the neck in front. This unit of measurement bears a pretty regular proportion to the added measurement of the girth of a statue or model.

From the Arringatore toga the author goes to the larger toga of the Republican period and superposes the one on the other in a flat drawing to scale. This same method she applies to the toga of the ages she has chosen as representative.

The *Ara Pacis* of Augustus offers good examples for her third form of the toga, and the author shows that the change is in the easing or lengthening of the toga's upper edge, allowing a fullness of drapery in front which certainly makes the *sinus* so often mentioned in literature. Also for the first time on several figures in this *Ara Pacis* relief appears a small loop or boss near the waist line in front, which is believed to be the *umbo* of literature.

The Arringatore, says the author, is the only statue, so far as she knows, where a border is shown on a toga. She proves that a border could and can be woven along a curved as well as a straight edged garment. Her collection of references makes it clear that the *toga praetexta* had a "purple" border. She seems to make her point that the painted border on a toga worn by a figure painted on one of the walls of the house of the Vettii at Pompeii is decorative and not realistic.

The purple border on the toga, therefore, like the purple patch in literature, seems to be left in the limbo of the subjective.

Miss Wilson devotes a chapter (III) to the imperial toga, where among other things it is shown that the large imperial toga, at all events, was woven in two pieces and seamed. At the beginning of the fourth chapter (Later Forms of the Toga, p. 89) the author must be quoted: "The changes thus far traced in the toga have been first, an increase in its length, and a much greater one in its width, so that considerably more than one-third of the width could be folded over to form the *sinus*; second, a change in the form by cutting off the upper corners, which greatly elongates the upper or *sinus* edge of the garment, making it convex and permitting more varied and elaborate styles of draping; third, a change in draping in order to dispose more conveniently of the mass of fabric, and at the same time preserve the elaborate appearance of the garment." That is a very understandable description, even without the accompanying photographs of the statues and the side-by-side draped living models, and the drawings of the shapes of garments that produce the same characteristic lines on the model as are on the statue.

Dr. Wilson closes her book with a brief appendix on "The Toga for Today," which gives practical suggestions based on her own experience for the use of interested students and teachers on fabric, color (the Roman *purpura* seems to approximate garnet or dark magenta), making the toga, and draping. There are also eleven tables of dimensions which follow her diagrams.

The reviewer inclines to believe that Miss Wilson has made it unnecessary for anyone else to study the shape of the Roman toga and the way it was draped. She has gathered her literary data fully, she has studied the existing monuments carefully, and has applied to the study of the drapery the only sensible method there is. Her study looks like what is called a definitive piece of work.

R. V. D. Magoffin

OLYMPIC VICTOR MONUMENTS AND GREEK ATHLETIC ART. BY WALTER WOODBURN HYDE. XIX, 406 PP.; 30 PLS.; 80 FIGS.; 2 PLANS. WASHINGTON, CARNEGIE INSTITUTION OF WASHINGTON (PUBLICATION NO. 268), 1921. \$10.50.

This book is already well known to specialists and has been reviewed by numerous scholars: D. M. Robinson, in *Classical Weekly*, XVII, 1923, 59-62; E. N. Gardiner, in *J. H. S.*, XLII, 1922, 123f.; Alfred Emerson, in *Art and Archaeology*, XIII, 1922, 97f.; D. S. Robertson, in *Cl. Rev.*, XXXVII, 1923, 74f., C. D. Bicknell, in *J. R. S.*, XII, 1922, 297f.; S. Reinach, in *R. Arch.*, XV, 1922, 181; T. L. Shear, in *A. J. P.*, XLV, 1924, 85-88; Erich Preuner, in *Phil. Woch.*, XLIII, 1923, 822-832 and 843-853. It is a large book, richly illustrated and fully documented, and covers, or at least touches on, a very large field. The titles of the eight chapters are as follows: I, Early Greek Games and Prizes; II, General Characteristics of Victor Statues at Olympia; III, Victor Statues Represented at Rest; IV, Victor Statues Represented in Motion; V, Monuments of Hippodrome and Musical Victors; VI, Two Marble Heads from Victor Statues; VII, The Materials of Olympic Victor Monuments, and the Oldest-Dated Victor Statue; VIII, Positions of Victor Statues in the Altis; Olympic Victor Monuments Erected Outside Olympia; Statistics of Olympic Victor Statuaries. The admirable table of contents includes a number of sub-heads for each chapter. The material in chapter VI would naturally belong to chapter III or IV and that in chapter VII to chapters II and III; but chapters VI, VII, and VIII reproduce with little alteration papers previously published by Professor Hyde, and he has chosen to add them to, rather than to incorporate them in, the present book. There is a list of abbreviations (pp. XVI-XIX) and a list of corrigenda (p. XIX), in which one finds with relief that Hyde does not really consider the Delphi charioteer archaic; and a long index (pp. 337-406), which unfortunately does not contain the names of museums.

"Athletic art" apparently means representations of athletes. The reader finds however that relatively little attention is given to arts other than sculpture; of the 110 illustrations, 97 reproduce sculptures. On the other hand, many sculptures which have nothing to do with athletics are discussed, as are hair-dressing, girls' contests in Rome (50) and various other topics that are hardly essential to the plan of the book. The presentation of these subjects, though apparently never hampered by considerations of brevity, is frequently unsatisfactory: thus the term *krobylos* is applied, on pp. 51 and 128, to two different types of hair-dressing, and in neither case is there any hint that the meaning is doubtful. On p. 191 we are told that the girl runners at Olympia ran over a course one-sixth the length of the stadium, while on p. 49 it is stated correctly that their course was one-sixth shorter than the stadium. In discussing the wine-pouring satyr (p. 144) Hyde says that the ascription to Praxiteles has been given up, which is far from true.

Similar inconsistencies and inaccuracies occur frequently in passages more important to the subject of the book. On p. 327 the "oldest class" of "Apollos" is represented by the Apollo of Thera and "one of the youngest" by the Apollo of Tenea; yet on p. 104 the Tenea figure is assigned to "the beginning of the sixth or even the end of the seventh century B.C." The author says (p. 105) that the Kleobis-Biton group is inscribed with the name of Polymedes of Argos; but only the last five letters of the name are there and it seems that there is not room for four others; Agamedes has been suggested as the most probable restoration. Hyde does not mention the other inscription, on which the identification is chiefly based; Homolle's recent study (*C. R. Acad. Inscr.*, 1924, 149ff.) has confirmed the identification. The Dresden athletes mentioned on p. 292 are four in number; there are two examples of each type (Hermann, *Verzeichnis der antiken Original-Bildwerke*, nos. 233-236). For the bearded head of one, see Hekler, *Greek and Roman Portraits*, 48; for the beardless head (one of the beardless heads is lost) see Arndt, *Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg*, figure on p. 179. It is not the beardless, but the bearded head which resembles a head in Ny Carlsberg; for this last see Arndt, *op. cit.*, pls. 130-131, pp. 182f. and Klein, *Gesch. d. griech. Kunst*, II, 279; it is no. 118 in the Glyptotek. For the bronze statuette of Hermes (Hyde, p. 292, note 3) see Mariani, in *Ausonia* II, 1907, pp. 226ff. and figure 9. A plate (no. 20) is given to the "remarkably beautiful bust" of an athlete in the Metropolitan Museum. It may be noted that Ludwig Curtius (*Phil. Woch.*, XL, 1920, 1162) and Preuner (*Phil. Woch.*, XLIII, 1923, 832) have expressed grave doubts as to the genuineness of this head; their doubts are, to say the least, not altogether unreasonable.

Professor Hyde names a large number of monuments illustrating each athletic event, and these lists will be very useful. Completeness in them cannot be expected, but they ought to be arranged in some logical order and where several copies from one original are enumerated, their relation should be indicated. On pp. 137 f., the reader would probably not infer that the Ephesos bronze and the Boston statuette were copies of the same original as the Uffizi apoxyomenos. If he did, he would certainly suppose that the bronze in the Bibliothèque Nationale, no. 934, was another example of the type; but in fact it is identical in type with the Loeb bronze mentioned by Hyde on p. 136 and described as "holding a strigil in the raised right hand"—an expression which scarcely makes it clear that the man is scraping the back of his right shoulder. Apparently there is no reference anywhere to Benndorf, in *Forschungen in Ephesos*, I, 181-204; this is not only the official publication of the Ephesos statue but the best discussion of the type in general. Hyde says of the Ephesos bronze (p. 138): "its original has been assigned by Hauser to the Sicyonian Daidalos," this opinion is held by many scholars, but Hauser was not one of them; he thought that the Ephesos figure itself was made by Daidalos. It is astonishing that Mme. Ada Maviglia's attribution of the Uffizi type to Lysippos is not cited in this discussion. On p. 290 we find that Hyde was not unacquainted with her work; but nobody studying the Uffizi type would ever find this passage, either of himself or guided by the index.

On p. 218 the remarkable part of Bybon's performance is left out: he threw the stone over his head with one hand. I may suggest as an addition to the list of diskoboloi a small bronze, no. 18, in the Thorwaldsen museum at Copenhagen. It is much corroded and few details can be made out; the lips are pinched and sharp in the way supposed to show the influence of sculpture in wood. The position is exactly that of the more archaic Apollos and the proportions and general appearance particularly suggest the Kleobis at Delphi, though the bronze is not so stocky. The diskos is held in the right hand, which hangs at the side as usual in the Apollos; the right arm is distinctly longer than the left, perhaps to indicate the power with which the diskos was hurled. This must be the earliest

of all diskoboloi, if not the earliest figure which clearly represents an athlete of any sort. There is another archaic bronze diskobolos in the Kestner Museum in Hannover. It belongs to Gardner's third type and has the singular feature, for a bronze, of a piece connecting the right arm and right leg, as though the former needed support. Was the bronze imitated from a marble statue? Neither of these bronzes has been published, so far as I know.

Sculptors and schools of sculptors specializing in athletic art are treated almost as fully as in a history of sculpture. Here also errors creep in: Demetrios of Alopeke may have lived till 360, but 380-360 is surely too late for his "floruit" (p. 56). No support for such a date can be drawn from the very inadequate references that are given. In treating Pythagoras (pp. 178ff.) the latest extended discussion (Ludwig Curtius, text to Brunn-Bruckmann 602-604) is not cited; nor is the Cassel Apollo, the "Perseus," nor the Devonshire Apollo head, though these are much the most interesting works that have been ascribed to Pythagoras. The most remarkable omission in the whole book, as has been noted by previous reviewers, is in the discussion of the Athena-Marsyas group by Myron (pp. 183ff.): although a reference is given to Brunn-Bruckmann for the head of Athena in Dresden, not a word is said about the other copies of the Athena. Lysippos is treated much more fully than any other sculptor, since two of Hyde's earlier papers, which make up chapter VI, are largely concerned with him. The author regards the Agias as the only reliable index to Lysippian style and thinks that the Vatican *apoxyomenos* is later than Lysippos. So far as I know there are just three other archaeologists who hold this view: they are Cultrera and the Gardner brothers. Since three of these four have dealt extensively with the subject in English and very little besides has been written on Lysippos in English, it is probable that students who do not read other languages will be misled as to the view usually held by scholars.

In a book intended for the use of serious students, references are of prime importance. Professor Hyde gives a large number of them; he sometimes cites illustrations in the *Annali dell' Instituto* and other antiquated sources, as would be expected only in an absolutely complete list of references. Several cases in which recent authorities are omitted have been noted already: as an especially bad case may be mentioned the discussion of the Praying Boy in Berlin (pp. 131f.), in which Hyde does not cite Lucas, *Neue Jahrbücher*, XXIX, 1912, 112-123, which is the best article on it, nor Willers, *Stud. zur griech. Kunst*, 127-159, nor Sauer, *Philologus*, LXVII, 1908, 304-310.

The material in chapters VI and VII, which is original to a much greater degree than the matter of the earlier chapters, may be commented on briefly. The resemblance between the Agias and the "Philandridas" is hardly sufficient to prove that they were made by one artist; if it were, the fact should be regarded as an argument against the attribution of the Agias to Lysippos. Hyde rightly maintains, against the apparent assumption of some scholars, that Lysippos was not incapable of making a marble statue; but we have every reason to believe that he made very few, and it would be surprising if one of them remained to us. Hyde easily shows (pp. 305-320) that the Newbold head is not so purely Skopasian as Bates had thought. In chapter VII he proves (pp. 321-326) that bronze was not the material of all victor statues, although marble was comparatively rare. His conjectural identification of the statue of Arrachion (pp. 326-337) is pleasing and may very well be right, but does not deserve to be stated as a virtual certainty; does Hyde really think it impossible that there should have been two archaic "Apollos" in Phigaleia?

The flaws which have been mentioned are by no means all that can be found in the book; many others, including one or two with which Professor Hyde was charged unjustly

have been mentioned by previous reviewers. One wonders whether final revisions were not prevented by lack of time. There must be few scholarly works against which so many objections can be raised. But this is a natural result of the treatment of so large an amount of material and at all events is no true indication of the value of the book. A great number of important sculptures are presented in it, classified according to subject in a convenient way and fully discussed. In debated questions the views of various scholars are conscientiously set forth; this is laborious for the writer and uninteresting for the casual reader, but of the highest importance for the serious student. Professor Hyde's own views on such questions are almost always governed by admirable common sense. For a large field in Greek sculpture this is the most useful book that the student will find. Among books in English it has no rivals; and it is more up-to-date by eight years than the third edition of Helbig's *Führer* and by nine years than the second edition of Bulle's *Der Schöne Mensch*. Bulle's third edition (1922) contains no citations. From many points of view, therefore, Hyde's book is the best existing substitute for a modern history of Greek sculpture like the works of Collignon and Overbeck, and will be entirely indispensable to students until such a history is written. It may be that a second edition will be required; in that case a relatively small amount of additional work would improve the book immeasurably. Even as it stands, it is a credit to the author and to American scholarship.